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THE ANNALS OF TACITUS BOOKS 5 AND 6

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS

BOOKS 5 AND 6

EDITED WITH A COMMENTARY

BY

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TO DOROTHY, DAVID AND JOHN

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PREFACE

Fifty years ago F. R. D. Goodyear undertook to write a commentary on the first six books of Tacitus' *Annals* for the series Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries. The series was the brainchild of the then Kennedy Professor of Latin at Cambridge, C. O. Brink, who worked on Tacitus intermittently throughout his life and had originally planned to contribute the Tacitus commentary himself; but a change of plan saw the *Annals* pass instead to Goodyear, whose doctoral dissertation on the *Aetna* had been supervised by Brink and now appeared in 1965 as the second volume in Brink's new series.

The sixties were a memorable and formative time for that fortunate generation with whose youth they coincided, but it is not for nothing that they were described by their most brilliant expositor as 'the pendulum years', the upswing of their hopes and aspirations often brought down to earth by the realities of subsequent decades. A projected commentary on the first six books of Tacitus' *Annals* is nothing if not aspirational, but, as is well known, Frank Goodyear had commented on only the first two books before he sadly passed away in 1987, never to realise his ambition of moving on from Tacitus to Cicero, whom he described as 'the master' of Latin prose. It was Ronald Martin and I who produced a volume of commentary on Book 3 (1996), having already published a commentary on Book 4 for the alternative series Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics (1989). Alas, now Ronald too has passed away and, with the kind encouragement of Stephen Oakley and Michael Sharp, I have here added a volume on Books 5 and 6. I very greatly regret that I can no longer test out my ideas on Ronald, whose own commentary on these same books appeared in 2001; my volume will be the poorer for his absence.

It is a daunting experience to dare to conclude a task left unfinished by one's doctoral supervisor, especially when that supervisor was a scholar as formidable as Frank Goodyear. He

could be as ferocious in person as he was in print, yet he showed me the greatest kindness and, in the twelve months of 1966 that I was under his direction, he provided me with incomparable training for the scholarly life. Since this volume represents a continuation as well as a conclusion, I have endeavoured not to repeat, but have cross-referred freely to, material already available in those earlier volumes of commentary, especially those on *Annals* 1–3. I can only hope that readers will not be too inconvenienced by this policy. Nor have I drawn repeated attention to the occasions – all too many – on which this volume differs from the translation of the *Annals* which I published in 2004. My attempt at synthesising Tacitus' portrait of Tiberius has been reserved for an Appendix at the very end, in a manner which I like to think would have been approved of by C. O. Brink.

The bibliography on Tacitus is extensive and continues to grow; I hope readers will forgive me if they fail to find a reference to their favourite author or work. It is conventional to acknowledge the contributions made by earlier commentators to the elucidation of one's text, and this I certainly do. But there is one scholar above all to whom I should like to pay tribute. I have heard Sir Ronald Syme's work being disparaged by some modern scholars of ancient history on the grounds that it is outmoded and entirely lacking in influence in the world of contemporary scholarship. On the contrary, it is impossible to imagine working on Tacitus or the first century AD in the absence of *Tacitus*, *The Augustan Aristocracy* and *Roman Papers*. As has truly been said, the products of Syme's genius are as fresh and compelling today as when they were first written.

It was a great help reading Books 5–6 of the *Annals* with a graduate class at the University of Virginia in the spring of 2014. I have also sought and received help from J. E. Lendon and E. A. Meyer (and their famous library), as well as J. N. Adams, T. Biggs, J. Bodel, F. K. Drogula, S. J. V. Malloch, J. Nelis-Clément, M. Peachin, J. T. Ramsey and Z. Stamatopoulou. E. J. Champlin very generously made available to me his notes on personal names in Book 6; with equal generosity J. D. Dillery,

C. P. Elliott, the late J. A. James, D. S. Levene and R. Wolters gave the benefit of their specialist advice on certain more technical sections of the Commentary. Valuable comments on the entire typescript were forthcoming from the Editors of the Cambridge series, S. P. Oakley, J. G. F. Powell and M. D. Reeve; the typescript was also read and commented on by S. Bartera, A. R. Birley, E. Courtney and R. Seager, to whom I am immensely grateful for their great kindness and tireless labours; any mistakes should certainly not be attributed to them.

This book was written during the academic year 2013–14 in Charlottesville. I am most grateful to the librarians of the Alderman and Fiske Kimball Fine Arts Libraries for the services which they provide so efficiently and which have greatly facilitated all my work over the past dozen years. Above all I should like to take this opportunity of expressing once again my great gratitude to my classical colleagues at the University of Virginia: nowhere can there be so delightful and harmonious a blend of conviviality and scholarship. My life in Charlottesville has, however, meant prolonged absences from my family; it is to them that I dedicate this book.

Charlottesville A. J. W.
Autumn 2015

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References to Tacitus' *Annals* usually omit both author and title (e.g. 1.24.2); references within Books 5 and 6 often omit the book number.

References to Sallust's *Histories* are generally to Maurenbrecher's edition, although the numeration of J. T. Ramsey's Loeb edition (2015) is sometimes added and identified by 'R'.

References to the fragmentary Roman historians are usually given according to the editions of both T. J. Cornell and H. Peter, identified by 'C' and 'P' respectively.

References to the Cambridge commentaries on *Annals* 1–4, the *Agricola*, and Velleius are usually given in the forms 1.24.2n., *Agr.* 20.1n. and Vell. 97.1n. (or W. on Vell. 97.1) respectively.

(A) ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Syme, R. (1986). *The Augustan aristocracy*. Oxford
AE	*L'année épigraphique*
AHC	Kraus, C. S., Marincola, J. and Pelling, C. (edd.) (2010). *Ancient historiography and its contexts: studies in honour of A. J. Woodman*. Oxford
BA	Talbert, R. J. A. (2000). *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman world*. Princeton [references are given both to the Atlas and to the two-volume Directory]
BNP	Cancik, H. and Schneider, H. (2002–09). *Brill's New Pauly*. Vols. 1–15. Leiden/Boston
CCT	Woodman, A. J. (ed.) (2009). *The Cambridge companion to Tacitus*. Cambridge
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
CILA	*Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Andalucía*
CLE	Buecheler, F. and Lommatsch, E. (1895–1926). *Carmina Latin Epigraphica*. Vols. 1–3. Leipzig

CT	Pagán, V. E. (ed.) (2012). *A companion to Tacitus*. Malden/Oxford/Chichester
EJ	Ehrenberg, V. and Jones, A. H. M. (1955). *Documents illustrating the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*. 2nd edn. Oxford
FRH	Cornell, T. J. (ed.) (2013). *The fragments of the Roman historians*. Oxford
G.	Goodyear, F. R. D. (1972–81). *The Annals of Tacitus*. Vols. 1–2. Cambridge
G–G	Gerber, A. and Greef, A. (1962). *Lexicon Taciteum*. Repr. Hildesheim
H.	Heubner, H. (1963–82). *P. Cornelius Tacitus. Die Historien*. Vols. 1–5. Heidelberg
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
ILS	*Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*
K–S	Kühner, R. and Stegmann, C. (1971). *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*. Vol. 2 *Satzlehre*. Parts 1 and 2. 4th edn. Repr. Hanover
L–H–S	Leumann, M., Hofmann, J. B. and Szantyr, A. (1972). *Lateinische Grammatik*. Vol. 2 *Syntax und Stilistik*. Revised edn. Munich
L&S	Lewis, C. T. & Short, C. (1879). *A Latin dictionary*. Oxford
LTUR	Steinby, E. M. (ed.) (1993). *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*. Vols. 1–6. Rome
MRR	Broughton, T. R. S. (1951–60). *The magistrates of the Roman Republic*. Vols. 1 and 2 (with Supplement). New York
N–H	Nisbet, R. G. M. and Hubbard, M. (1970, 1978). *A commentary on Horace*. Vol. 1 *Odes I*, Vol. 2 *Odes II*. Oxford
NLS	Woodcock, E. C. (1959). *A new Latin syntax*. London
N–R	Nisbet, R. G. M. and Rudd, N. (2004). *A commentary on Horace. Odes Book III*. Oxford
OLD	*Oxford Latin Dictionary*

PH	Woodman, A. J. (2012). *From poetry to history: selected papers*. Oxford
PIR	Groag, E., Stein, A. and Petersen, L. (1933–2015). *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*. Vols. 1–8. 2nd edn. Berlin
RE	*Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
RIC	Sutherland, C. H. V. and Carson, R. A. G. (1984). *Roman imperial coinage*. Vol. 1 (revised edn). London
RICH	Woodman, A. J. (1988). *Rhetoric in classical historiography*. Portland
RP	Syme, R. (1979–91). *Roman papers*. Vols. 1–7. Oxford
SCPP	*Senatus Consultum de Cn. Pisone Patre*
SVF	von Arnim, H. F. A. (1903–24). *Stoicorum veterum fragmenta*. Vols. 1–4. Leipzig
TLL	*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*
Tac. Rev.	Woodman, A. J. (1998). *Tacitus reviewed*. Oxford
W.	Woodman, A. J. (1977, 1983). *Velleius Paterculus: The Tiberian narrative* and *The Caesarian and Augustan narrative*. Cambridge

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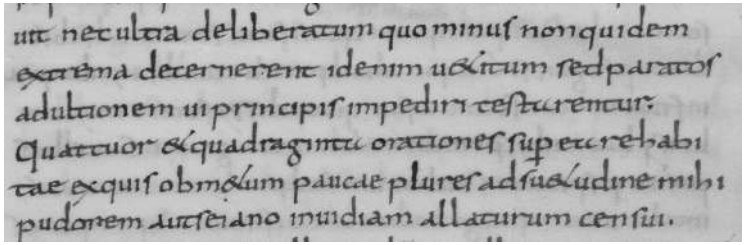
INTRODUCTION

The commentator on Books 5 and 6 of Tacitus' *Annals* is faced with an important question almost before he starts: what constitutes Books 5 and 6? The beginning of Book 5 is clearly marked with the expression 'INCIPIT LIBER V' in the Medicean manuscript (fo. 115v), but there is no indication of where the book ends or Book 6 begins; indeed there is no sign of any Book 6 at all: the text continues without a break to *suo tantum ingenio utebatur*, the final words of the manuscript (fo. 138r). Ferrettus in the mid-sixteenth century was the first to point out that much of the story of Sejanus is missing from this text,[1] of which the crucial passage (5.5–5.6.2) is here reproduced as it appears in the manuscript (fo. 117r):[2]



Sejanus is alive in the episode of AD 29 which concludes in line 3 with the words *impediri testarentur*. Since the following statement that 'forty-four speeches on that topic were delivered' has nothing in the preceding text to which it can refer, it is universally agreed that there is a lacuna between the words *testarentur* and *Quattuor*;[3] likewise, since the relative clause which begins *ex*

[1] A. Ferrettus, *Annotatiunculae ad Annales et Historias* (Lyons 1541, 1542).

[2] Florence, The Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Plut. 68.1, fo. 117r, reproduced with permission of MiBACT. Further reproduction by any means is prohibited.

[3] The four-letter gap in M after *testarentur* does not seem to me to be a residual trace of this lacuna; there is an almost identical gap after *censui*, likewise

quis . . . adsuetudine in line 5 has no ending, and since the sentence which ends *mihi . . . censui* in lines 5–6 has no beginning, it is equally obvious that there is a second lacuna between *adsuetudine* and *mihi* in line 5. *mihi* and the first-person verb *censui* indicate that at least this defective sentence belongs to a speech,[4] and the speech is part of a narrative in which it rapidly becomes clear that Sejanus has been executed (cf. esp. 5.8.1 'punito Seiano'):[5] it therefore follows that the speech and its sequel belong to the later months of AD 31. In other words, between the words *impediri testarentur* and *mihi pudorem* there is a substantial amount of missing text which will have covered the best part of the years AD 29–31 but from which there survives only the defective sentence *Quattuor . . . adsuetudine*.[6]

Although Ferrettus acknowledged that in its original (i.e. non-lacunose) state Tacitus' narrative of the years AD 29–37 was likely to have comprised two books rather than one, he did not propose where the division between these putative books should be marked; it was Lipsius in 1574 who proposed beginning Book 6 with the names of the consuls for AD 32 and who is thus ultimately responsible for the numeration which is found in modern editions.[7] Lipsius therefore assigned the narratives of

coinciding with the end of a sentence, three lines lower down on the MS page.

[4] *Quattuor . . . adsuetudine* could in theory belong to the same speech (see ad loc.), although never printed as such.

[5] Sejanus was executed on 18 October AD 31.

[6] As far as I know, the words *Quattuor . . . adsuetudine* are universally assumed to belong to the narrative of AD 31 rather than to that of AD 29 or 30.

[7] Lipsius based his book-division solely on his view that a narrative of more than eight years (AD 29–31 + 32–37) was too much for a single book; although he said that his choice of AD 32 for the start of Book 6 was somewhat arbitrary (see his note ad loc.), it turns out to be extremely appropriate (see below, p. 7 and n. 12). On the complicated subject of the relationship between Ferrettus and Lipsius in the matter of book-division see S. Bartera, 'Commentary writing on the *Annals* of Tacitus', in C. S. Kraus and C. A. Stray (edd.), *Classical commentaries: exploration in a scholarly genre* (Oxford, 2016) 117–18 and n. 31.

three full years (AD 29–31) to Book 5, which in his view ended with the words *donec magistratu abirent* at 5.11.2 but from which the central section of text was entirely missing apart from the defective sentence *Quattuor . . . adsuetudine*; and he attributed to Book 6 the narratives of five and a quarter years, AD 32 to March 37, which is when Tiberius died. Since at 5.11.2 there is no trace of the kind of subscription which separates every previous book in the Medicean manuscript, Lipsius' division almost certainly entails the assumption that an original subscription is missing at this point.

This book division was accepted for almost three centuries until F. Haase in 1848 maintained that Lipsius had been mistaken, that the narrative of Book 5 should go no further than the words *impediri testarentur* at 5.5 and that Book 6 should begin with the lacuna preceding the words *Quattuor et quadraginta orationes* in the following sentence.[8] The effect of Haase's intervention was dramatic and can be seen with particular vividness in the work of Orelli. Orelli produced his edition of the *Annals* in 1846, and it was reprinted in 1848: both volumes follow Lipsius and begin Book 6 with the names of the consuls for AD 32. But 1848 was of course the year of Haase's intervention, and, when Baiter brought out a second edition of Orelli a decade later in 1859, he accepted Haase's arguments and began Book 6 with *Quattuor et quadraginta orationes* and the preceding lacuna. As far as I know, he has been followed by every editor ever since.[9]

Haase's two best arguments in favour of his suggestion are interrelated. He argued on the one hand that Lipsius' division left Book 6 disproportionately short: as can be seen from the following table, it would be the shortest Tiberian book by a difference of 245 lines:[10]

[8] F. Haase, 'Tacitea', *Philol.* 3 (1848) 152–9.

[9] Editors have, however, retained the traditional reference system, continuing to refer to the first six extant chapters of Haase's 'Book 6' as 5.6–11.

[10] The line totals are based on Borzsák's edition.

Book	Total of lines	Years	Lines per year (average)
I (6 onwards)	1050	1⅓ (14 [August]–15)	789
II	1090	4 (16–19)	272
III	975	3 (20–22)	325
IV	1046	6 (23–28)	174
VI	730	5¼ (32–37 [March])	139

Haase also argued that the execution of Sejanus in mid-October of 31 would have made an appropriate conclusion to Book 5. If Book 5 had indeed concluded with the death of Sejanus, that would leave almost a quarter of a year's events to fill out the start of the allegedly deficient Book 6. Haase's proposed division also has the incidental and attractive advantage of economy. Since on his proposal a lacuna after the words *impediri testarentur* at 5.5 will have included the point at which Book 5 ended and Book 6 began, it will also have included the subscription which, on the evidence of M's other book divisions, separated the former book from the latter. Haase's proposal thus solves at the same time the two problems of book length and the missing subscription.

To the best of my knowledge Haase's division remained unchallenged for a hundred and fifty years; but in 1997 C. Ando produced detailed arguments in favour of reverting to Lipsius' division.[11] Perhaps his most persuasive argument is the manner in which Tacitus opens the other books of the Tiberian *Annals*. If we exclude Book 1 as a special case, Books 2, 4 and 5 each open with the start of a new narrative year (see 5.1.1n.); and, although the same cannot be said with certainty about Book 3 (see 3.1–6 intro. n. [p. 78], 3.2.3n.), the likelihood is that this is true of that book also. Haase's division thus has the effect of

[11] C. Ando, 'Tacitus, *Annales* VI: beginning and end', *AJP* 118 (1997) 285–303.

making Book 6 look a strange anomaly in the Tiberian narrative. Also to be considered is the way in which the second half of the Tiberian hexad corresponds to the latter stages of Tiberius' *mores* as outlined in his obituary notice (6.51.3):

> Morum quoque tempora illi diuersa: [1] egregium uita famaque quoad priuatus uel in imperiis sub Augusto fuit; [2] occultum ac subdolum fingendis uirtutibus donec Germanicus ac Drusus superfuere; [3] idem inter bona malaque mixtus incolumi matre; [4] intestabilis saeuitia sed obtectis libidinibus dum Seianum dilexit timuitue; [5] postremo in scelera simul ac dedecora prorupit postquam remoto pudore et metu suo tantum ingenio utebatur.

The beginnings of the third and fourth stages are marked more or less explicitly at the beginnings of Books 4 and 5 respectively (cf. 4.1.1, 4.6.1; 5.3.1): one would therefore expect the fifth and final stage, in which the emperor erupted into the sexual *dedecora* from which he had been prevented during Sejanus' lifetime, to be foregrounded at the beginning of Book 6; and it is Lipsius' book division, not Haase's, which produces this correspondence (cf. 6.1.1–2).[12]

Equally telling is the relationship between books and narrative years. When he completed Book 4, Tacitus had eight and a quarter years to accommodate in Books 5 and 6: Lipsius' assignment of five and a quarter years to Book 6 (AD 32–37) leaves three full years for Book 5 (AD 29–31), an identical total to Book 3 (AD 20–22), whereas Haase's division would reduce the total in Book 5 to less than three years, an unparalleled proportion apart from Book 1 (AD 14–15), which is exceptional on other grounds (as already noted) and is the longest book of all. It is also worth observing the average number of lines which Tacitus devotes to his narrative years. Book 6 as envisaged by Lipsius has an average of 139 lines per narrative year, which is only 35 lines fewer than the average in Book 4, the other book

[12] On this see the Appendix.

which embraces multiple years. Yet even average figures are misleading, as the following table shows:

AD	Chapters	Lines
32	(1–14)	193
33	(15–27)	170
34	(28–30)	56
35	(31–9)	131
36	(40–45.2)	82
37	(45.3–51)	98

The narrative of AD 34 is the second shortest of the fully extant years in the *Annals*, and that of AD 36 is among the half-dozen of the shorter years; but Tacitus has expanded brilliantly the narratives of AD 32, 33 and 35, and has given full measure to Tiberius' last months in AD 37.[13] The total and average figures for Book 6 on Lipsius' division thus should not allow the inference that readers of that book are somehow being short-changed by the author.

It is true that Lipsius' division requires the assumption of a missing subscription between Books 5 and 6; but we should remember that on any interpretation there is a second lacuna between the defective sentences *Quattuor . . . adsuetudine* and *mihi . . . censui* at 5.6.1–2: Lipsius' assumption of a third omission does not seem unduly extravagant. It is also true, as Haase maintained, that the fall and death of Sejanus would have made a dramatic conclusion to Book 5; yet so perceptive a reader of Tacitus as Sir Ronald Syme seems clearly to have favoured the ending of Book 5 as envisaged by Lipsius, 'a dispute between two consuls, ferocious and not to be allayed by the public intervention of many senators':[14]

[13] On all these passages see the introductions to each relevant section of the Commentary.

[14] Syme, *Tac.* 267.

The choice of episode is neither fortuitous nor inartistic. The two names together recapitulate the signal catastrophe of the year: the one consul had been an adherent of Seianus, the other was among the principal agents of his downfall. Further, consuls discordant in their last days of office served as a lively reminder of Rome's history under the Republic.

Haase has had a good run for his money: for over a century and half his arguments have determined the format of the Tiberian *Annals*; but a reconsideration of Tacitean practice suggests that we should revert to the division between Books 5 and 6 as perceived by Lipsius.

SIGLA

M	Codex Mediceus siue Laurentianus 68.1 (saec. ix)
M^{mg}	Lectiones in margine codicis scriptae, quarum pleraeque Beroaldo adsignandae sunt
M^{c}	Emendationes additae supra uersum codicis quae posterioris manus esse dicuntur

Veteres emendationes suo quamque auctori haud facile quis adsignauerit; de Philippo Beroaldo, qui primus *Annales* I–VI Romae anno 1515 edidit, disputauit Goodyear (1.3–6).

CORNELII TACITI
AB EXCESSV DIVI AVGVSTI
LIBER QVINTVS

1 Rubellio et Fufio consulibus, quorum utrique Geminus cog- AD 29
nomentum erat, Iulia Augusta mortem obiit aetate extrema,
<femina> nobilitatis per Claudiam familiam et adoptione
Liuiorum Iuliorumque clarissimae. Primum ei matrimonium
et liberi fuere cum Tiberio Nerone, qui bello Perusino profu-
116r gus pace inter Sex. Pompeium ac triumuiros pacta | in urbem
2 rediit. Exin Caesar cupidine formae aufert marito (incertum an
inuitam) adeo properus ut ne spatio quidem ad enitendum dato
penatibus suis grauidam induxerit. Nullam posthac subolem
edidit sed sanguini Augusti per coniunctionem Agrippinae et
3 Germanici adnexa communes pronepotes habuit. Sanctitate
domus priscum ad morem, comis ultra quam antiquis feminis
probatum, mater impotens, uxor facilis et cum artibus mariti,
simulatione filii bene composita.

4 Funus eius modicum, testamentum diu inritum fuit. Laudata
est pro rostris a C. Caesare pronepote, qui mox rerum poti-
2 tus est. At Tiberius, quod supremis in matrem officiis defuis-
set, nihil mutata amoenitate uitae, magnitudinem negotiorum
per litteras excusauit honoresque memoriae eius ab senatu
large decretos quasi per modestiam imminuit, paucis admodum
receptis et addito ne caelestis religio decerneretur: sic ipsam
2 maluisse. Quin et parte eiusdem epistulae increpuit amici-
tias muliebres, Fufium consulem oblique perstringens. Is gratia
Augustae floruerat, aptus alliciendis feminarum animis, dicax
idem et Tiberium acerbis facetiis inridere solitus, quarum apud
praepotentes in longum memoria est.

INCIPIT LIBER V Ab excessu diui augusti. Rubellio *e.q.s. M Woodman* **3** <femina> **8** inuito *Merkelbach*

3 Ceterum ex eo praerupta iam et urgens dominatio: nam AD 29
incolumi Augusta erat adhuc perfugium, quia Tiberio inueteratum erga matrem obsequium, neque Seianus audebat
116v auctoritati parentis | antire; tunc uelut frenis exsoluti proruperunt, missaeque in Agrippinam ac Neronem litterae quas
pridem adlatas et cohibitas ab Augusta credidit uulgus: haud
2 enim multum post mortem eius recitatae sunt. Verba inerant quaesita asperitate, sed non arma, non rerum nouarum studium, amores iuuenum et impudicitiam nepoti obiectabat. In nurum ne id quidem confingere ausus, adrogantiam oris
et contumacem animum incusauit, magno senatus pauore ac silentio, donec pauci quis nulla ex honesto spes (et publica mala singulis in occasionem gratiae trahuntur) ut referretur postulauere, promptissimo Cotta Messalino cum atroci sententia.
3 Sed aliis a primoribus maximeque a magistratibus trepidabatur: quippe Tiberius etsi infense inuectus cetera ambigua reliquerat.

4 Fuit in senatu Iunius Rusticus, componendis patrum actis delectus a Caesare eoque meditationes eius introspicere creditus. Is fatali quodam motu (neque enim ante specimen constantiae dederat) seu praua sollertia, dum imminentium
oblitus incerta pauet, inserere se dubitantibus ac monere consules ne relationem inciperent; disserebatque breuibus momentis summa uerti: posse quandoque †germanicis titium
2 paenitentiae senis†. Simul populus effigies Agrippinae ac
117r Neronis gerens | circumsistit curiam faustisque in Caesarem
ominibus falsas litteras et principe inuito exitium domui eius
3 intendi clamitat. Ita nihil triste illo die patratum. Ferebantur etiam sub nominibus consularium fictae in Seianum sententiae, exercentibus plerisque per occultum atque eo procacius
4 libidinem ingeniorum. Vnde illi ira uiolentior et materies

6 et *M*: sed *Acidalius* **7** multo *Heinsius* **10** confringere *M, corr. Beroaldus* **18** meditationes *Rhenanus*: –nis *M* **22** consulens *M* **22** leuibus *Drexler post Ernesti* **23–24** germanicis . . . senis *M, obelis notauit Woodman*: Germanici exitium p– seni <esse> *Ruperti* (<esse> seni *Walther*): Germanici sti<rpis exi>tium p– <esse> seni *Fuchs*: *alii alia* **25** faustisque *Muretus*: festisque *M*: infestisque *Kritz* **26** omnibus *M, corr. Beroaldus*

criminandi: spretum dolorem principis ab senatu, desciuisse AD 29
populum; audiri iam et legi nouas contiones, noua patrum consulta: quid reliquum nisi ut caperent ferrum et, quorum imagines pro uexillis secuti forent, duces imperatoresque deligerent?

5 Igitur Caesar repetitis aduersum nepotem et nurum probris increpitaque per edictum plebe, questus apud patres quod fraude unius senatoris imperatoria maiestas elusa publice foret, integra tamen sibi cuncta postulauit. Nec ultra deliberatum quominus non quidem extrema decernerent (id enim uetitum), sed paratos ad ultionem ui principis impediri testarentur.***

6 Quattuor et quadraginta orationes super ea re habitae, ex AD 31
quis ob metum paucae, plures adsuetudine**

2 '**mihi pudorem aut Seiano inuidiam adlaturum censui. Versa est fortuna, et ille quidem, qui collegam et generum adsciuerat, sibi ignoscit; ceteri quem per dedecora fouere cum scelere insectantur. Miserius sit ob amicitiam accusari an
117v 3 amicum accusare haud discreuerim. | Non crudelitatem, non clementiam cuiusquam experiar sed liber et mihi ipsi probatus antibo periculum. Vos obtestor ne memoriam nostri per maerorem quam laeti retineatis, adiciendo me quoque iis qui fine egregio publica mala effugerunt.'

7 Tunc singulos, ut cuique absistere, adloqui animus erat, retinens aut dimittens partem diei absumpsit, multoque adhuc coetu et cunctis intrepidum uultum eius spectantibus, cum superesse tempus nouissimis crederent, gladio quem sinu
2 abdiderat incubuit. Neque Caesar ullis criminibus aut probris defunctum insectatus est, cum in Blaesum multa foedaque incusauisset.

10 *Post* testarentur *uerba codicis sine intermissione continuari uidentur, nisi quod nouus uersus a* Quattuor *(uide infra) incipit; sed narratio rerum triennio fere gestarum deest. Finem fragmenti Libri V statuit hic Haase, post cap. 11 Lipsius* **11–12** Quattuor . . . adsuetudine *nihil obstare uidetur quin haec quoque uerba pro oratione recta habeantur* **12–13** *Nulla lacuna in codice designata est* **18** dementiam *M, corr. Beroaldus* **22** absistere *Pfitzner*: ads– *M* **23** adsumpsit (*suprascr.* b M^c) *M*

8 Relatum inde de P. Vitellio et Pomponio Secundo. Illum AD 31
indices arguebant claustra aerarii, cui praefectus erat, et militarem pecuniam rebus nouis obtulisse; huic a Considio praetura functo obiectabatur Aelii Galli amicitia, qui punito Seiano in hortos Pomponii quasi fidissimum ad subsidium
2 perfugisset. Neque aliud periclitantibus auxilii quam in fratrum constantia fuit, qui uades exstitere. Mox crebris prolationibus spem ac metum iuxta grauatus Vitellius petito per speciem studiorum scalpro leuem ictum uenis intulit uitamque aegritudine animi finiuit. At Pomponius multa morum elegantia et ingenio inlustri, dum aduersam fortunam aequus tolerat, Tiberio superstes fuit.

9 Placitum posthac ut in reliquos Seiani liberos aduerteretur,
118r uanescente quamquam plebis ira ac plerisque | per priora supplicia lenitis. Igitur portantur in carcerem filius imminentium intellegens, puella adeo nescia ut crebro interrogaret quod ob delictum et quo traheretur; neque facturam ultra et posse se
2 puerili uerbere moneri. Tradunt temporis eius auctores, quia triumuirali supplicio adfici uirginem inauditum habebatur, a carnifice laqueum iuxta compressam; exim oblisis faucibus id aetatis corpora in Gemonias abiecta.

10 Per idem tempus Asia atque Achaia exterritae sunt acri magis quam diuturno rumore, Drusum Germanici filium apud Cycladas insulas, mox in continenti uisum. Et erat iuuenis haud dispari aetate, quibusdam Caesaris libertis uelut adgnitus; per dolumque comitantibus adliciebantur ignari fama nominis et
2 promptis Graecorum animis ad noua et mira: quippe elapsum custodiae pergere ad paternos exercitus, Aegyptum aut Syriam inuasurum, fingebant simul credebantque. Iam iuuentutis concursu, iam publicis studiis frequentabatur, laetus praesentibus et inanium spe, cum auditum id Poppaeo Sabino: is Macedoniae

4 uelii *M*, *corr. Lipsius* **25–26** per dolum qui (e *suprascr. M*^{c}) *M*: qui *secl. Muretus* **27** elapsum *Rhenanus*: lapsum *M* **28** custodias *Beroaldus* **31** inanium *M*: inani cum *Lenchantin*: inani *Nipperdey* **31** pompeio *M*, *corr. Rhenanus*

3 tum intentus Achaiam quoque curabat. Igitur, quo uera seu AD 31
falsa antiret, Toronaeum Thermaeumque sinum praefestinans,
mox Euboeam Aegaei maris insulam et Piraeum Atticae orae,
dein Corinthiense litus angustiasque Isthmi euadit; marique
alio Nicopolim Romanam coloniam ingressus, ibi demum
118v cognoscit | sollertius interrogatum quisnam foret dixisse M.
Silano genitum et multis sectatorum dilapsis ascendisse nauem
tamquam Italiam peteret. Scripsitque haec Tiberio neque nos
originem finemue eius rei ultra comperimus.

11 Exitu anni diu aucta discordia consulum erupit. Nam Trio,
facilis capessendis inimicitiis et foro exercitus, ut segnem Reg-
ulum ad opprimendos Seiani ministros oblique perstrinxerat;
ille, nisi lacesseretur modestiae retinens, non modo rettudit col-
legam sed ut noxium coniurationis ad disquisitionem trahebat.
2 Multisque patrum orantibus ponerent odia in perniciem itura,
mansere infensi ac minitantes donec magistratu abirent.

5 alio *M*: alto *Lenchantin*: Ionio *Barthold* **7** delapsis (i *suprascr. M*^{c}) *M*
16 abirent *Finem fragmenti Libri V statuit hic Lipsius*

<LIBER SEXTVS>

1 Cn. Domitius et Camillus Scribonianus consulatum inierant, AD 32
cum Caesar tramisso quod Capreas et Surrentum interluit freto
Campaniam praelegebat, ambiguus an urbem intraret seu,
quia contra destinauerat, speciem uenturi simulans. Et saepe
in propinqua degressus, aditis iuxta Tiberim hortis, saxa rur-
sum et solitudinem maris repetiit, pudore scelerum et libid-
inum, quibus adeo indomitis exarserat ut more regio pubem
2 ingenuam stupris pollueret. Nec formam tantum et decora cor-
pora sed in his modestam pueritiam, in aliis imagines maio-
rum incitamentum cupidinis habebat. Tuncque primum ignota
119r antea uocabula reperta sunt sellariorum | et spintriarum ex
foeditate loci ac multiplici patientia; praepositique serui qui
re<quire>rent, pertraherent: dona in promptos, minae aduer-
sum abnuentes; et, si retinuerant propinquus aut parens, uim
raptus suaque ipsi libita uelut in captos exercebant.

2 At Romae principio anni, quasi recens cognitis Liuiae flag-
itiis ac non pridem etiam punitis, atroces sententiae dicebantur in effigies quoque ac memoriam eius, et bona Seiani ablata
2 aerario ut in fiscum cogerentur, tamquam referret. Scipiones
haec et Silani et Cassii isdem ferme aut paulum immutatis
uerbis adseueratione multa censebant, cum repente Togonius
Gallus, dum ignobilitatem suam magnis nominibus inserit, per
3 deridiculum auditur. Nam principem orabat deligere senatores
ex quis uiginti sorte ducti et ferro accincti, quotiens curiam
inisset, salutem eius defenderent. Crediderat nimirum epistulae
subsidio sibi alterum ex consulibus poscentis, ut tutus a Capreis
4 urbem peteret. Tiberius tamen, ludibria seriis permiscere soli-
tus, egit grates beneuolentiae patrum; sed quos omitti posse,

5 digressus *Beroaldus* **11** spintriarum *Beroaldus*: p·sintriarum *M* **12–13** qui re<quire>rent *Weissenborn*: qui <conqui>rerent *Ritter* **13** minae *Woodman*: –nas *M*: (dono . . .) minis *Heinsius* **14** retinuerant *Ritter*: retinuerent *M*: retinerẽt *Beroaldus* **17** sentiae *M* **18** in effigies *Beroaldus*: infigies *M* **19** tamquam *Lipsius*: quam *M*

quos deligi? semperne eosdem an subinde alios? et honoribus AD 32
perfunctos an iuuenes, priuatos an e magistratibus? quam
deinde speciem fore sumentium in limine curiae gladios? neque
sibi uitam tanti si armis tegenda foret.

Haec aduersus Togonium, uerbis moderans ne quid ultra
119v **3** abolitionem | sententiae suaderet. At Iunium Gallionem, qui
censuerat ut praetoriani actis stipendiis ius apiscerentur in quat-
tuordecim ordinibus sedendi, uiolenter increpuit, uelut coram
rogitans quid illi cum militibus, quos neque dicta <nisi> imper-
2 atoris neque praemia nisi ab imperatore accipere par esset: rep-
perisse prorsus quod diuus Augustus non prouiderit! an potius
discordiam et seditionem a satellite Seiani quaesitam, qua rudes
animos nomine honoris ad corrumpendum militiae morem
3 propelleret? Hoc pretium Gallio meditatae adulationis tulit.
Statim curia, deinde Italia exactus; et, quia incusabatur facile
toleraturus exilium delecta Lesbo, insula nobili et amoena,
retrahitur in urbem custoditurque domibus magistratuum.
4 Isdem litteris Caesar Sexti<li>um Paconianum praetorium
perculit magno patrum gaudio, audacem maleficum, omnium
secreta rimantem delectumque ab Seiano cuius ope dolus
C. Caesari pararetur. Quod postquam patefactum, prorupere
concepta pridem odia, et summum supplicium decernebatur, ni
4 professus indicium foret. Vt uero Lucanium Latiarem ingressus
est, accusator ac reus iuxta inuisi gratissimum spectaculum
praebebant. Latiaris, ut rettuli, praecipuus olim circumue-
niendi Titii Sabini et tunc luendae poenae primus fuit.

120r 2 Inter quae Haterius | Agrippa consules anni prioris inuasit:
cur mutua accusatione intenta nunc silerent? metum prorsus

1 delegi (i *suprascr. M*^{c}) *M* **5** uerbis *Beroaldus*: urbis *M* **5** ne quid *Madvig*: neque *M*: neque <ut> *Doederlein*: neue *Nipperdey* (neque . . . suadere *Beroaldus*) **9–10** <nisi> imperatoris *Rhenanus*: imperatoris *M*, *secl. Lipsius* **14** *Post* tulit *interpunxit Doederlein* **18** Sexti<li>um *Courtney* (*item 6.39.1*): extium *M*: Sextium *Lipsius* **18** Paconianum *Lipsius*: pagonianum *M* **20** ab *Weissenborn*: ad *M*: a *Beroaldus* **22** per idem *M*, *corr. Lipsius* **23** Lucanium (*suprascr.* ati) *M*: Latinium *uulgo* (*cf. 4.68.2*) **23** aggressus *Lipsius* **24** ac reus *Lipsius*: acrius *M* **25** praebebant *Ursinus*: –bantur *M*

et noxae conscientiam pro foedere haberi; at non patribus AD 32
3 reticenda quae audiuissent. Regulus manere tempus ultionis
seque coram principe exsecuturum, Trio aemulationem inter
collegas et si qua discordes iecissent melius obliterari respondit.
Vrgente Agrippa Sanquinius Maximus e consularibus orauit 5
senatum ne curas imperatoris conquisitis insuper acerbitatibus
augerent: sufficere ipsum statuendis remediis. Sic Regulo salus
4 et Trioni dilatio exitii quaesita. Haterius inuisior fuit quia
somno aut libidinosis uigiliis marcidus et ob segnitiam quamuis
crudelem principem non metuens inlustribus uiris perniciem 10
inter ganeam ac stupra meditabatur.

5 Exim Cotta Messalinus, saeuissimae cuiusque sententiae auc-
tor eoque inueterata inuidia, ubi primum facultas data, argui-
tur pleraque – C. Caesarem quasi incertae uirilitatis et, cum
die natali Augustae inter sacerdotes epularetur, nouendialem 15
eam cenam – dixisse; querensque de potentia M. Lepidi ac
L. Arruntii, cum quibus ob rem pecuniariam disceptabat,
addidisse: 'Illos quidem senatus, me autem tuebitur Tiberiolus
2 meus.' Eaque cuncta a primoribus ciuitatis reuincebatur, iisque
instantibus ad imperatorem prouocauit. Nec multo post litterae 20
adferuntur quibus in modum defensionis, repetito inter se atque
120v Cottam amicitiae principio crebrisque eius | officiis commem-
oratis, ne uerba praue detorta neu conuiualium fabularum sim-
plicitas in crimen duceretur postulauit.

6 Insigne uisum est earum Caesaris litterarum initium. Nam 25
his uerbis exorsus est: 'Quid scribam uobis, patres conscripti,
aut quo modo scribam aut quid omnino non scribam hoc
tempore, di me deaeque peius perdant quam perire me cotidie
sentio, si scio.' Adeo facinora atque flagitia sua ipsi quoque
2 in supplicium uerterant. Neque frustra praestantissimus 30

1 noxae conscientiam *Groslotius*: noxiam –tiae *M* **14–16** pler-
aque . . . dixisse *sic distinxit Woodman*: pleraque <in> *Muretus*: pleraque:
<Gaiam> C. Caesarem *Ritter* (*post Freinsheim*) **14** incertae *Lipsius*: –ta
M: incestae *Rhenanus* **19** eaque *Pichena*: neque *M*: quae *Jac. Gronovius*
22 amicitiae *Beroaldus*: –ia *M* **27** quo modo *Beroaldus* (*cf. Suet. Tib. 67.1*):
quando *M* **28** dimideae quae *M*

sapientiae firmare solitus est, si recludantur tyrannorum AD 32
mentes, posse aspici laniatus et ictus, quando, ut corpora uerberibus, ita saeuitia, libidine, male consultis animus dilaceretur. Quippe Tiberium non fortuna, non solitudines protegebant quin tormenta pectoris suasque ipse poenas fateretur.

7 Tum facta patribus potestate statuendi de Caesiliano senatore, qui plurima aduersum Cottam prompserat, placitum eandem poenam inrogari quam in Aruseium et Sangunnium, accusatores L. Arruntii. Quo non aliud honorificentius Cottae euenit, qui nobilis quidem set egens ob luxum, per flagitia infamis, sanctissimis Arruntii artibus dignitate ultionis aequa-
2 batur. Q. Seruaeus posthac et Minucius Thermus inducti, Seruaeus praetura functus et quondam Germanici comes, Minucius equestri loco, modeste habita Seiani amicitia: unde
121r illis maior miseratio. Contra Tiberius, praecipuos | ad scelera increpans, admonuit C. Cestium patrem dicere senatui
3 quae sibi scripsisset, suscepitque Cestius accusationem. Quod maxime exitiabile tulere illa tempora, cum primores senatus infimas etiam delationes exercerent, alii propalam, multi per occultum; neque discerneres alienos a coniunctis, amicos ab ignotis, quid repens aut uetustate obscurum: proinde in foro, in conuiuio, quaqua de re locuti incusabantur, ut quis praeuenire et reum destinare properat, pars ad subsidium sui, plures
4 infecti quasi ualetudine et contactu. Sed Minucius et Seruaeus damnati indicibus accessere; tractique sunt in casum eundem Iulius Africanus e Santonis, Gallica ciuitate, Seius Quadratus, <cuius> originem non repperi.

5 Neque sum ignarus a plerisque scriptoribus omissa multorum pericula et poenas, dum copia fatiscunt aut quae ipsis nimia et maesta fuerant ne pari taedio lecturos adficerent uerentur; nobis pleraque digna cognitu obuenere, quamquam ab aliis

3 male *Woodman*: malis *M* **6** Caeciliano *Lipsius* **8** sangunnium (*suprascr.* qui M^c) *M* **11–12** ultionisequebatur *M*, *corr. Beroaldus* **21** perinde *Rhenanus* **25** tractique *Beroaldus*: tractatique *M* **26** Seius<que> *Lenchantin* **27** <cuius> *uetus codex quidam teste Ursino*

8 incelebrata. Nam ea tempestate qua Seiani amicitiam ceteri AD 32
falso exuerant, ausus est eques Romanus M. Terentius, ob
id reus, amplecti, ad hunc modum apud senatum ordiendo:
'Fortunae quidem meae fortasse minus expediat adgnoscere
crimen quam abnuere, sed, utcumque casura res est, fate-
bor et fuisse me Seiano amicum et ut essem expetisse et,
2 postquam adeptus eram, laetatum. Videram collegam patris
regendis praetoriis cohortibus, mox urbis et militiae munia
121v simul obeuntem. | Illius propinqui et adfines honoribus auge-
bantur; ut quisque Seiano intimus, ita ad Caesaris amici-
tiam ualidus; contra quibus infensus esset, metu ac sordibus
3 conflictabantur. Nec quemquam exemplo adsumo: cunctos
qui nouissimi consilii expertes fuimus meo unius discrimine
defendam.

'Non enim Seianum Vulsiniensem set Claudiae et Iuliae
domus partem, quas adfinitate occupauerat, tuum, Caesar,
generum, tui consulatus socium, tua officia in re publica
4 capessentem colebamus. Non est nostrum aestimare quem
supra ceteros et quibus de causis extollas: tibi summum rerum
iudicium di dedere, nobis obsequii gloria relicta est. Specta-
mus porro quae coram habentur, cui ex te opes, honores, quis
plurima iuuandi nocendiue potentia, quae Seiano fuisse nemo
negauerit. Abditos principis sensus et si quid occultius parat
exquirere inlicitum, anceps; nec ideo adsequare.

5 'Ne, patres conscripti, ultimum Seiani diem sed sedecim
annos cogitaueritis. Etiam Satrium atque Pomponium uener-
abamur; libertis quoque ac ianitoribus eius notescere pro mag-
6 nifico accipiebatur. Quid ergo? Indistincta haec defensio et
promisca dabitur? Immo iustis terminis diuidatur. Insidiae in
rem publicam, consilia caedis aduersum imperatorem puni-
antur; de amicitia et officiis idem finis et te, Caesar, et nos
9 absoluerit.' Constantia orationis et quia repertus erat qui
122r efferret quae omnes | animo agitabant eo usque potuere ut

7 colligam (*suprascr.* e) *M* **15** set *Rhenanus*: et *M*

accusatores eius, additis quae ante deliquerant, exilio aut morte AD 32
multarentur.

2 Secutae dehinc Tiberii litterae in Sex. Vistilium praetorium, quem Druso fratri percarum in cohortem suam transtulerat. Causa offensionis Vistilio fuit, seu composuerat quaedam in Gaium Caesarem ut impudicum, siue ficto habita fides. Atque ob id conuictu principis prohibitus cum senili manu ferrum temptauisset, obligat uulnus; precatusque per codicillos, immiti
3 rescripto uenas resoluit. Aceruatim ex eo Annius Pollio, Appius Silanus Scauro Mamerco simul ac Sabino Caluisio maiestatis postulantur, et Vinicianus Pollioni patri adiciebatur, clari genus et quidem summis honoribus. Contremuerantque patres (nam quotus quisque adfinitatis aut amicitiae tot inlustrium uirorum expers erat?), ni Celsus urbanae cohortis tribunus, tum inter
4 indices, Appium et Caluisium discrimini exemisset. Caesar Pollionis ac Viniciani Scaurique causam ut ipse cum senatu nosceret distulit, datis quibusdam in Scaurum tristibus notis.
10 Ne feminae quidem exsortes periculi. Qu<ae qui>a occupandae rei publicae argui non poterant, ob lacrimas incusabantur; necataque est anus Vitia, Fufii Gemini mater, quod filii necem fleuisset.

2 Haec apud senatum, nec secus apud principem Vescularius Flaccus ac Iulius Marinus ad mortem aguntur, e uetustissimis familiarium, Rhodum secuti et apud Capreas indiuidui, Vescu-
122v larius insidiarum in Libonem internuntius; Marino | participe Seianus Curtium Atticum oppresserat. Quo laetius acceptum sua exempla in consultores recidisse.

3 Per idem tempus L. Piso pontifex – rarum in tanta claritudine – fato obiit, nullius seruilis sententiae sponte auctor

3 Vistilium *Nipperdey*: Vest– *M* **8** obligat *Baiter*: oblegatu *M*: obligauit *Beroaldus* **8** uulnus *Friis Johansen*: uenas *M* **9** uenas *M*, *secl. Ritter* **10** Caluisio *Beroaldus* (*M*^{mg}): clauisio *M* **12** et quidem *Becher*: et quidam *M*: atque idem *Nipperdey* **15** Caluisium *Beroaldus* (*M*^{mg}): caliusium *M* **18** qu<ae qui>a *Woodman*: qua *M*: quia *Muretus*: quae *Huet*: *alii alia* **20** Fufii *Beroaldus*: fugii (*suprascr.* s) *M* **23** Flaccus *Pichena* (*cf. 2 28.1*): atticus *M* **25** participis *M*, *corr. Beroaldus*

et, quotiens necessitas ingrueret, sapienter moderans. Patrem AD 32
ei censorium fuisse memoraui; aetas ad octogesimum annum
processit; decus triumphale in Thraecia meruerat. Sed prae-
cipua ex eo gloria quod praefectus urbi recens continuam
potestatem et insolentia parendi grauiorem mire temperauit.
11 Namque antea, profectis domo regibus ac mox magistratibus,
ne urbs sine imperio foret, in tempus deligebatur qui ius red-
deret ac subitis mederetur. Feruntque ab Romulo Dentrem
Romulium, post ab Tullo Hostilio Numam Marcium et ab Tar-
quinio Superbo Spurium Lucretium impositos; dein consules
mandabant, duratque simulacrum quotiens ob ferias Latinas
2 praeficitur qui consulare munus usurpet. Ceterum Augustus
bellis ciuilibus Cilnium Maecenatem equestris ordinis cunc-
tis apud Romam atque Italiam praeposuit. Mox rerum poti-
tus ob magnitudinem populi ac tarda legum auxilia sumpsit
e consularibus qui coerceret seruitia et quod ciuium audacia
3 turbidum nisi uim metuat. Primusque Messala Coruinus eam
potestatem et paucos intra dies finem accepit, quasi nescius
exercendi; tum Taurus Statilius, quamquam prouecta aetate,
123r egregie tolerauit; dein Piso uiginti per annos pariter | probatus
publico funere ex decreto senatus celebratus est.

12 Relatum inde ad patres a Quintiliano tribuno plebei de
libro Sibyllae, quem Caninius Gallus quindecimuirum recipi
inter ceteros eiusdem uatis et ea de re senatus consultum
postulauerat. Quo per discessionem facto misit litteras Caesar,
modice tribunum increpans ignarum antiqui moris ob iuuen-
2 tam. Gallo exprobrabat quod scientiae caerimoniarumque
uetus incerto auctore ante sententiam collegii, non (ut adsolet)
lecto per magistros aestimatoque carmine, apud infrequentem
senatum egisset. Simul commonefecit, quia multa uana sub
nomine celebri uulgabantur, sanxisse Augustum quem intra
diem ad praetorem urbanum deferrentur neu quae habere

6 praefectis demum *M*, *corr. Rhenanus* **13** cillinium *M*, *corr. Lipsius* **20** uiginti *M*: quindecim *Ernesti*: sex *Corsinus* **23** quindecimuir *Beroaldus* **32** neu quae *Woodman*: neque *M*: neue *Ernesti*

priuatim liceret. Quod a maioribus quoque decretum erat post AD 32
exustum sociali bello Capitolium, quaesitis Samo, Ilio, Erythris,
per Africam etiam ac Siciliam et Italicas colonias carminibus
Sibyllae – una seu plures fuere – datoque sacerdotibus negotio,
quantum humana ope potuissent, uera discernere. Igitur tunc
quoque notioni quindecimuirum is liber subicitur.

13 Isdem consulibus grauitate annonae iuxta seditionem uen-
tum multaque et plures per dies in theatro licentius efflagi-
tata quam solitum aduersum imperatorem. Quis commotus
incusauit magistratus patresque quod non publica auctori-
123v tate populum coercuissent, | addiditque quibus e prouinciis
et quanto maiorem quam Augustus rei frumentariae copiam
aduectaret. Ita castigandae plebi compositum senatus consul-
tum prisca seueritate, neque segnius consules edixere. Silentium
ipsius non ciuile (ut crediderat) sed in superbiam accipiebatur.

14 Fine anni Geminius, Celsus, Pompeius, equites Romani,
cecidere coniurationis crimine; ex quis Geminius prodigentia
opum ac mollitia uitae amicus Seiano, nihil ad serium. Et Iulius
Celsus tribunus in uinclis laxatam catenam et circumdatam
in diuersum tendens suam ipse ceruicem perfregit. At Rubrio
Fabato, tamquam desperatis rebus Romanis Parthorum ad mis-
ericordiam fugeret, custodes additi. Sane repertus apud fretum
Siciliae retractusque per centurionem nullas probabiles causas
longinquae peregrinationis adferebat; mansit tamen incolumis,
obliuione magis quam clementia.

15 Ser. Galba L. Sulla consulibus diu quaesito quos neptibus suis AD 33
maritos destinaret, Caesar, postquam instabat uirginum aetas,
L. Cassium, M. Vinicium legit. Vinicio oppidanum genus: Cal-
ibus ortus, patre atque auo consularibus, cetera equestri familia
erat, mitis ingenio et comptae facundiae. Cassius plebeii Romae
generis uerum antiqui honoratique, et seuera patris disciplina
eductus facilitate saepius quam industria commendabatur.

2 sociali bello *M*, *secl. Nipperdey*: ciuili b– *Lipsius*: Sullano b– *C. Heraeus* **2** Erythris *Beroaldus* (*M*^{mg}): erytrythrys *M* **11** e *Beroaldus*: & *M*: ex *Ritter* **22** sane *Muretus*: sanus *M*: sane is *Mercerus*: naue is *Lenchantin* **31–32** discipline ductus *M*, *corr. Beroaldus*

Huic Drusillam, Vinicio Iuliam Germanico genitas coniungit | AD 33
124r 2 superque ea re senatui scribit leui cum honore iuuenum. Dein
redditis absentiae causis admodum uagis flexit ad grauiora et
offensiones ob rem publicam <sus>ceptas, utque Macro prae-
fectus tribunorumque et centurionum pauci secum introirent 5
3 quotiens curiam ingrederetur petiuit. Factoque large et sine
praescriptione generis aut numeri senatus consulto ne tecta qui-
dem urbis, adeo publicum consilium numquam adiit, deuiis
plerumque itineribus ambiens patriam et declinans.

16 Interea magna uis accusatorum in eos inrupit qui pecunias 10
faenore auctitabant aduersum legem dictatoris Caesaris qua de
modo credendi possidendique intra Italiam cauetur, omissam
olim, quia priuato usui bonum publicum postponitur. Sane
uetus urbi faenebre malum et seditionum discordiarumque cre-
berrima causa eoque cohibebatur antiquis quoque et minus 15
2 corruptis moribus. Nam primo duodecim tabulis sanctum ne
quis unciario faenore amplius exerceret, cum antea ex libidine
locupletium agitaretur; dein rogatione tribunicia ad semun-
cias redactum, postremo uetita uersura. Multisque plebis scitis
obuiam itum fraudibus quae totiens repressae miras per artes 20
3 rursum oriebantur. Sed tum Gracchus, praetor cui ea quaestio
euenerat, multitudine periclitantium subactus rettulit ad sen-
124v atum, trepidique | patres (neque enim quisquam tali culpa
uacuus) ueniam a principe petiuere; et concedente annus in
posterum sexque menses dati quis secundum iussa legis rationes 25
familiares quisque componerent.

17 Hinc inopia rei nummariae, commoto simul omnium aere
alieno, et quia tot damnatis bonisque eorum diuenditis signa-
tum argentum fisco uel aerario attinebatur. Ad hoc senatus
praescripserat duas quisque faenoris partes in agris per Italiam 30
2 conlocaret ***. Sed creditores in solidum appellabant, nec

1 Vinicio *Beroaldus*: uinio *M* **4** <sus>ceptas *Muretus*: coeptas *M* **9** ambiens *Rhenanus*: ambigens *M* **12** cau<er>etur *Courtney* **12** omissam *Lipsius*: –ssa *M* **19** redactum *Halm*: –actu *M*: redacta *Beroaldus* **19** plebis *M*: –bi *Nipperdey* **24** eo concedente *Pichena* **31** *Post* conlocaret *lacunam statuit Nipperdey, quam suppleuit e Suet. Tib. 48.1*

decorum appellatis minuere fidem. Ita primo concursatio et AD 33
preces, dein strepere praetoris tribunal, eaque quae remedio
quaesita – uenditio et emptio – in contrarium mutari, quia
faeneratores omnem pecuniam mercandis agris condiderant.
3 Copiam uendendi secuta uilitate, quanto quis obaeratior,
aegrius distrahebant, multique fortunis prouoluebantur; euer-
sio rei familiaris dignitatem ac famam praeceps dabat, donec
tulit opem Caesar, disposito per mensas milies sestertio factaque
mutuandi copia sine usuris per triennium, si debitor populo in
4 duplum praediis cauisset. Sic refecta fides et paulatim priuati
quoque creditores reperti. Neque emptio agrorum exercita
ad formam senatus consulti, acribus (ut ferme talia) initiis,
incurioso fine.

18 Dein redeunt priores metus, postulato maiestatis Considio
Proculo, qui, nullo pauore diem natalem celebrans, raptus in
125r curiam | pariterque damnatus interfectusque; et sorori eius
Sanciae aqua atque igni interdictum, accusante Q. Pomponio.
Is moribus inquies haec et <alia> huiusce modi a se factitari
praetendebat ut parta apud principem gratia periculis Pom-
2 ponii Secundi fratris mederetur. Etiam in Pompeiam Macrinam
exilium statuitur, cuius maritum Argolicum, socerum Laconem
e primoribus Achaeorum Caesar adflixerat. Pater quoque
inlustris eques Romanus ac frater praetorius, cum damnatio
instaret, se ipsi interfecere. Datum erat crimini quod Theopha-
nen Mytilenaeum proauum eorum Cn. Magnus inter intimos
habuisset quodque defuncto Theophani caelestes honores
19 Graeca adulatio tribuerat. Post quos Sex. Marius Hispaniarum
ditissimus defertur incestasse filiam et saxo Tarpeio deicitur;
ac, ne dubium haberetur magnitudinem pecuniae malo uer-
tisse, aurarias <aerarias>que eius, quamquam publicarentur,
sibimet Tiberius seposuit.

7 <in> praeceps *Muretus* **11** emptio *Beroaldus*: emitio *M* **16** et *M*: est *Bezzenberger* **18** <alia> *Oakley* **24** interfecere *Beroaldus*: –icere *M* **28** incertasse *siue* incestasse *M* (*uix distingui potest*) **30** <aerarias>que *Bezzenberger*: <argentarias>que *Weissenborn*

2 Inritatusque suppliciis cunctos qui carcere attinebantur AD 33
accusati societatis cum Seiano necari iubet. Iacuit immensa
strages, omnis sexus, omnis aetas, inlustres, ignobiles, dis-
3 persi aut aggerati. Neque propinquis aut amicis adsistere,
inlacrimare, ne uisere quidem diutius dabatur, sed circumiecti
custodes et in maerorem cuiusque intenti corpora putrefacta
125v adsectabantur dum in Tiberim traherentur, | ubi fluitantia aut
ripis adpulsa non cremare quisquam, non contingere. Inter-
ciderat sortis humanae commercium ui metus, quantumque
saeuitia glisceret, miseratio arcebatur.

20 Sub idem tempus C. Caesar, discedenti Capreis auo comes,
Claudiam, M. Silani filiam, coniugio accepit, immanem ani-
mum subdola modestia tegens, non damnatione matris, non
exitio fratrum rupta uoce; qualem diem Tiberius induisset,
pari habitu, haud multum distantibus uerbis. Vnde mox scitum
Passieni oratoris dictum percrebuit neque meliorem umquam
seruum neque deteriorem dominum fuisse.

2 Non omiserim praesagium Tiberii de Seruio Galba, tum
consule; quem accitum et diuersis sermonibus pertemptatum
postremo Graecis uerbis in hanc sententiam adlocutus: 'Et tu,
Galba, quandoque degustabis imperium', seram ac breuem
potentiam significans scientia Chaldaeorum artis, cuius apis-
cendae otium apud Rhodum, magistrum Thrasullum habuit,
21 peritiam eius hoc modo expertus. Quotiens super ta<cito>
negotio consultaret, edita domus parte ac liberti unius consci-
entia utebatur. Is litterarum ignarus, corpore ualido, per auia
ac derupta (nam saxis domus imminet) praeibat eum cuius
artem experiri Tiberius statuisset, et regredientem, si uanitatis
aut fraudum suspicio incesserat, in subiectum mare praecipita-
126v 2 bat ne index arcani existeret. Igitur Thrasul|lus isdem rupibus
inductus postquam percunctantem commouerat, imperium ipsi
et futura sollerter patefaciens, interrogatur an suam quoque

11 Capreis *Woodman*: –eas *M* **14** exitio *Nipperdey*: exilio *M* **14** diem *M*: die *Vertranius*: <in> diem *Barth*: *alii alia* **20** adlocutus <est> *Ernesti* **24** super ta<cito> *Woodman*: superta *M*: s– ta<nto> *Ruperti*: s– ta *Pichena* **30** thrasullusṇsdem *M*

genitalem horam comperisset, quem tum annum, qualem diem AD 33
haberet. Ille positus siderum ac spatia dimensus haerere primo,
dein pauescere, et, quantum introspiceret, magis ac magis
trepidus admirationis et metus, postremo exclamat ambiguum
3 sibi ac prope ultimum discrimen instare. Tum complexus eum 5
Tiberius praescium periculorum et incolumem fore gratatur,
quaeque dixerat oracli uice accipiens inter intimos amicorum
tenet.

22 Sed mihi haec ac talia audienti in incerto iudicium est fatone
res mortalium et necessitate immutabili an forte uoluantur. 10
Quippe sapientissimos ueterum quique sectas eorum aemu-
lantur diuersos reperies, ac multis insitam opinionem non ini-
tia nostri, non finem, non denique homines dis curae: ideo
2 creberrime tristia in bonos, laeta apud deteriores esse. Con-
tra alii fatum quidem congruere rebus putant, sed non e uagis 15
stellis uerum apud principia et nexus naturalium causarum; ac
tamen electionem uitae nobis relinquunt, quam ubi elegeris,
certum imminentium ordinem; neque mala uel bona quae
uulgus putet: multos qui conflictari aduersis uideantur beatos,
at plerosque, quamquam magnas per opes, miserrimos, si illi 20
grauem fortunam constanter tolerent, hi prospera inconsulte |
126v utantur.

3 Ceterum plurimis mortalium non eximitur quin primo
cuiusque ortu uentura destinentur, sed quaedam secus quam
dicta sint cadere fallaciis ignara dicentium: ita corrumpi fidem 25
artis cuius clara documenta et antiqua aetas et nostra tulerit.
4 Quippe a filio eiusdem Thrasulli praedictum Neronis imperium
in tempore memorabitur, ne nunc incepto longius abierim.

23 Isdem consulibus Asinii Galli mors uulgatur, quem egestate
cibi peremptum haud dubium, sponte uel necessitate incertum 30
habebatur. Consultusque Caesar an sepeliri sineret, non erubuit

3 pauescere *Beroaldus*: pauescente *M*: pauescens *Jac. Gronovius* **11** sectas *Wurm*: –am *M* **12** reperias *M* (*sed* a *in* e *corr.*) **14** creberrime *Freinsheim*: creberrima et *M* **15** ingruere *Nipperdey* **16** nexu *Fuchs* **17** elegeris *M*: feceris *uel* decreris *Ernesti* **24** destinentur *Beroaldus*: dist– *M* **28** aberrem *Heinsius*

permittere ultroque incusare casus qui reum abstulissent ante- AD 33
quam coram conuinceretur. Scilicet medio triennio defuerat
tempus subeundi iudicium consulari seni, tot consularium
parenti!

2 Drusus deinde exstinguitur, cum se miserandis alimentis,
mandendo e cubili tomento, nonum ad diem detinuisset. Tra-
didere quidam praescriptum fuisse Macroni, si arma ab Seiano
temptarentur, extractum custodiae iuuenem (nam in Palatio
attinebatur) ducem populo imponere. Mox, quia rumor incede-
bat fore ut nuru ac nepoti conciliaretur Caesar, saeuitiam quam
24 paenitentiam maluit. Quin et inuectus in defunctum probra
corporis, exitiabilem in suos, infensum rei publicae animum
127r obiecit recitarique factorum dictorumque eius | descripta per
dies iussit, quo non aliud atrocius uisum: adstitisse tot per
annos qui uultum, gemitus, occultum etiam murmur exciper-
ent, et potuisse auum audire, legere, in publicum promere
uix fides, nisi quod Attii centurionis et Didymi liberti epis-
tulae seruorum nomina praeferebant, ut quis egredientem
2 cubiculo Drusum pulsauerat, exterruerat. Etiam sua uerba cen-
turio saeuitiae plena – tamquam egregium – uocesque defi-
cientis adiecerat, quis primo alienationem mentis simulans
quasi per dementiam funesta Tiberio, mox, ubi exspes uitae
fuit, meditatas compositasque diras imprecabatur, ut, quemad-
modum nurum filiumque fratris et nepotes domumque omnem
caedibus compleuisset, ita poenas nomini generique maio-
3 rum et posteris exsolueret. Obturbabant quidem patres specie
detestandi; sed penetrabat pauor et admiratio callidum olim
et tegendis sceleribus obscurum huc confidentiae uenisse ut
tamquam dimotis parietibus ostenderet nepotem sub uerbere
centurionis, inter seruorum ictus extrema uitae alimenta frustra
orantem.

6 mandendo . . . tomento *secl. Orelli auctore Ritter* **17** de|dymi *M* **21** alienationem . . . simulans *secl. Bahrdt* **22** quasi per dementiam *secl. Ruperti olim, Rickless* **24** nepotes <damnasset> *Courtney*, nep– <necasset> *Ritter* **25** compleuisset *M*: confecisset *Wopkens*

25 Nondum is dolor exoleuerat cum de Agrippina auditum, AD 33
quam interfecto Seiano spe sustentatam prouixisse reor et,
postquam nihil de saeuitia remittebatur, uoluntate extinctam,
nisi si negatis alimentis adsimulatus est finis qui uideretur sponte
2 sumptus. Enimuero Tiberius foedissimis criminationibus exar-
127v sit, | impudicitiam arguens et Asinium Gallum adulterum,
eiusque morte ad taedium uitae compulsam. Sed Agrippina
aequi impatiens, dominandi auida, uirilibus curis feminarum
3 uitia exuerat. Eodem die defunctam quo biennio ante Seianus
poenas luisset, memoriaeque id prodendum addidit Caesar,
iactauitque quod non laqueo strangulata neque in Gemonias
proiecta foret. Actae ob id grates decretumque ut quintum de-
cimum Kal. Nouembres, utriusque necis die, per omnes annos
donum Ioui sacraretur.

26 Haud multo post Cocceius Nerua, continuus <comitatu>
principis, omnis diuini humanique iuris sciens, integro statu,
corpore inlaeso, moriendi consilium cepit. Quod ut Tiberio
cognitum, adsidere, causas requirere, addere preces, fateri
postremo graue conscientiae, graue famae suae, si proximus
2 amicorum nullis moriendi rationibus uitam fugeret. Auersatus
sermonem Nerua abstinentiam cibi coniunxit. Ferebant gnari
cogitationum eius, quanto propius mala rei publicae uiseret,
ira et metu, dum integer, dum intemptatus, honestum finem
uoluisse.

3 Ceterum Agrippinae pernicies (quod uix credibile) Plancinam traxit. Nupta olim Cn. Pisoni et palam laeta morte Germanici, cum Piso caderet, precibus Augustae nec minus inimicitiis Agrippinae defensa erat. Vt odium et gratia desiere, ius
128r ualuit; petitaque criminibus haud | ignotis sua manu sera magis
quam immerita supplicia persoluit.

27 Tot luctibus funesta ciuitate pars maeroris fuit quod Iulia
Drusi filia, quondam Neronis uxor, denupsit in domum

12–13 <a.d.> quintum decimum *Ursinus* **15** <comitatu> *Woodman* **16** omnis *uulgo*: oms̃ *M* (principi comes *Nipperdey–Andresen*) **17** ut *M*: ubi *Wölfflin*

Rubellii Blandi, cuius auum Tiburtem equitem Romanum plerique meminerant. AD 33

2 Extremo anni mors Aelii Lamiae funere censorio celebrata, qui administrandae Syriae imagine tandem exsolutus urbi praefuerat. Genus illi decorum, uiuida senectus; et non permissa
3 prouincia dignationem addiderat. Exin Flacco Pomponio Syriae pro praetore defuncto recitantur Caesaris litterae quis incusabat egregium quemque et regendis exercitibus idoneum abnuere id munus seque ea necessitudine ad preces cogi per quas consularium aliqui capessere prouincias adigerentur, oblitus Arruntium ne in Hispaniam pergeret decimum iam annum attineri.

4 Obiit eodem anno et M. Lepidus, de cuius moderatione atque sapientia in prioribus libris satis conlocaui. Neque nobilitas diutius demonstranda est: quippe Aemilium genus fecundum bonorum ciuium, et qui eadem familia corruptis moribus, inlustri tamen fortuna egere.

28 Paulo Fabio L. Vitellio consulibus post longum saeculorum ambitum auis phoenix in Aegyptum uenit praebuitque materiem doctissimis indigenarum et Graecorum multa super eo miraculo disserendi. De quibus congruunt et plura ambigua (sed cognitu non absurda) promere libet. AD 34

128v 2 Sacrum Soli id animal, et ore ac distinctu pinnarum | a ceteris auibus diuersum consentiunt qui formam eius effinxere.
3 De numero annorum uaria traduntur: maxime uulgatum quingentorum spatium; sunt qui adseuerent mille quadringentos sexaginta unum interici, prioresque alites Sesoside primum, post Amaside dominantibus, dein Ptolemaeo qui ex Macedonibus tertius regnauit, in ciuitatem cui Heliopolis nomen aduolauisse, multo ceterarum uolucrum comitatu
4 nouam faciem mirantium. Sed antiquitas quidem obscura;

8 exercitus *mutatum in* –ubus *M* **9** necessititudine *M* **14** satis <laudis> *Watt*: s– <multa> *Seyffert* **14** conlocaui *M*: conlaudaui *Ruperti*: *alii alia* **20** materiam *mutatum in* –iem *M* **23** et ore *M*: colore *Pichena* **24** effinxere *Pichena*: effinere *M*: definiere *Beroaldus* **27** alites *Rhenanus*: aliter *M*: alios tres *Némethy* **27** Sesoside *Jac. Gronovius*: esse sosi de *M*

inter Ptolemaeum ac Tiberium minus ducenti quinquaginta AD 34
anni fuerunt. Vnde nonnulli falsum hunc phoenicem neque
Arabum e terris credidere, nihilque usurpauisse ex iis quae
5 uetus memoria firmauit: confecto quippe annorum numero, ubi
mors propinquet, suis in terris struere nidum eique uim geni- 5
talem adfundere ex qua fetum oriri; et primam adulto curam
sepeliendi patris, neque id temere sed sublato murrae pondere
temptatoque per longum iter, ubi par oneri, par meatui sit,
subire patrium corpus inque Solis aram perferre atque adol-
6 ere. Haec incerta et fabulosis aucta; ceterum aspici aliquando 10
in Aegypto eam uolucrem non ambigitur.

29 At Romae caede continua Pomponius Labeo, quem prae-
fuisse Moesiae rettuli, per abruptas uenas sanguinem effu-
dit; aemulataque est coniunx Paxaea. Nam promptas eius
modi mortes metus carnificis faciebat, et, quia damnati pub- 15
129r licatis | bonis sepultura prohibebantur, eorum qui de se stat-
uebant humabantur corpora, manebant testamenta, pretium
2 festinandi. Sed Caesar missis ad senatum litteris disseruit
morem fuisse maioribus, quotiens dirimerent amicitias, inter-
dicere domo eumque finem gratiae ponere: id se repetiuisse in 20
Labeone, atque illum, quia male administratae prouinciae alio-
rumque criminum urgebatur, culpam inuidia uelauisse, frustra
conterrita uxore, quam etsi nocentem periculi tamen expertem
fuisse.

3 Mamercus dein Scaurus rursum postulatur, insignis nobil- 25
itate et orandis causis, uita probrosus. Nihil hunc amicitia
Seiani, sed labefecit haud minus ualidum ad exitia Macro-
nis odium, qui easdem artes occultius exercebat detuleratque
argumentum tragoediae a Scauro scriptae, additis uersibus
4 qui in Tiberium flecterentur. Verum ab Seruilio et Corne- 30
lio accusatoribus adulterium Liuiae, magorum sacra obiecta-
bantur. Scaurus, ut dignum ueteribus Aemiliis, damnationem

3 iis *Ritter*: his *M* **22** urgebatur *M*: arguebatur *Ernesti* **30** ab *Beroaldus*: ad *M*

anteiit, hortante Sextia uxore, quae incitamentum mortis et AD 34
particeps fuit.

30 Ac tamen accusatores, si facultas incideret, poenis adficiebantur, ut Seruilius Corneliusque perdito Scauro famosi, quia pecuniam a Vario Ligure omittendae delationis ceperant, 5
2 in insulas interdicto igni atque aqua demoti sunt. Et Abudius Ruso functus aedilitate, dum Lentulo Gaetulico, sub quo legioni praefuerat, periculum facessit quod is Seiani filium generum
129v destinasset, ultro damnatur atque | urbe exigitur.

Gaetulicus ea tempestate superioris Germaniae legiones cur- 10
abat mirumque amorem adsecutus erat, effusae clementiae, modicus seueritate et proximo quoque exercitui per L. Apro-
3 nium socerum non ingratus. Vnde fama constans ausum mittere ad Caesarem litteras: adfinitatem sibi cum Seiano haud sponte sed consilio Tiberii coeptam; perinde se quam Tiberium 15
falli potuisse, neque errorem eundem illi sine fraude, aliis exitio habendum; sibi fidem integram et, si nullis insidiis peteretur, mansuram; successorem non aliter quam indicium mortis accepturum; firmarent uelut foedus quo princeps cetera rerum
4 poteretur, ipse prouinciam retineret. Haec mira, quamquam 20
fidem ex eo trahebant quod unus omnium Seiani adfinium incolumis multaque gratia mansit, reputante Tiberio publicum sibi odium, extremam aetatem magisque fama quam ui stare res suas.

31 C. Cestio M. Seruilio consulibus nobiles Parthi in urbem 25 AD 35
uenere, ignaro rege Artabano. Is metu Germanici fidus Romanis, aequabilis in suos, mox superbiam in nos, saeuitiam in populares sumpsit, fretus bellis quae secunda aduersum circumiectas nationes exercuerat, et senectutem Tiberii ut

1 anteiit *Halm*: ante it *M* **1** hortante Sextia *Lipsius*: hortantes exitia *M*: hortante Sextilia *Walther* **3** *Fortasse* <ipsi>, si **5** delationi *Heinsius* **8** isse lani *M* **19** cetera (*aduerb.*) *Woodman*: ceterarum *M*, *secl. Krömer* **20** poteretur (*suprascr.* i, *ut uid.*) *M* **20–21** haec mira, quamquam fidem e.q.s. *Bach*: haec, mira quamquam, fidem e.q.s. *alii* **23** ui stare *Beroaldus* (*M*^{mg}): uisitare *M* **29** exercuerat *Beroaldus* (*M*^{mg}): execreuerat *M*

inermem despiciens auidusque Armeniae, cui defuncto rege AD 35
Artaxia Arsacen liberorum suorum ueterrimum imposuit,
addita contumelia et missis qui gazam a Vonone relictam
in Syria Ciliciaque reposcerent; simul ueteres Persarum ac
130r Macedonum terminos, seque | inuasurum possessa Cyro et 5
2 post Alexandro per uaniloquentiam ac minas iaciebat. Sed
Parthis mittendi secretos nuntios ualidissimus auctor fuit Sin-
naces, insigni familia ac perinde opibus, et proximus huic
Abdus, ademptae uirilitatis (non despectum id apud barbaros
ultroque potentiam habet). Ii adscitis et aliis primoribus, quia 10
neminem gentis Arsacidarum summae rei imponere poterant,
interfectis ab Artabano plerisque aut nondum adultis, Phraaten
regis Phraatis filium Roma poscebant: nomine tantum et auc-
tore opus, ut sponte Caesaris [ut] genus Arsacis ripam apud
32 Euphratis cerneretur. Cupitum id Tiberio: ornat Phraaten 15
accingitque paternum ad fastigium, destinata retinens, consiliis
et astu res externas moliri, arma procul habere.

Interea cognitis insidiis Artabanus tardari metu, modo cupi-
dine uindictae inardescere; et barbaris cunctatio seruilis, sta-
2 tim exsequi regium uidetur. Valuit tamen utilitas, ut Abdum 20
specie amicitiae uocatum ad epulas lento ueneno inligaret, Sin-
nacen dissimulatione ac donis, simul per negotia moraretur. Et
Phraates apud Syriam, dum omisso cultu Romano, cui per tot
annos insueuerat, instituta Parthorum sumit, patriis moribus
impar morbo absumptus est. 25

3 Sed non Tiberius omisit incepta: Tiridaten sanguinis eius-
dem aemulum Artabano reciperandaeque Armeniae Hiberum
130v Mithridaten | deligit conciliatque fratri Pharasmani, qui gen-
tile imperium obtinebat; et cunctis quae apud Orientem para-
4 bantur L. Vitellium praefecit. Eo de homine haud sum ignarus 30
sinistram in urbe famam, pleraque foeda memorari; ceterum

1 inertem *Heinsius* **5** Cyro *Beroaldus*: i̯cyro *M*: a Cyro *Ritter*: primum Cyro *Baiter* **14** ut *ante* genus *secl. Brotier, ante* sponte *J. Müller* **17** et astu res *Beroaldus* (M^{mg}): etasatures *M* **24** sumit *Lipsius*: insumit *M* **25** adsumptus (*suprascr.* b) *M* **28** diligit (*suprascr.* e M^{c}) *M* **31** pluraque *Hermann*

regendis prouinciis prisca uirtute egit. Vnde regressus et formi- AD 35
dine C. Caesaris, familiaritate Claudii turpe in seruitium
mutatus exemplar apud posteros adulatorii dedecoris habetur,
cesseruntque prima postremis, et bona iuuentae senectus flagi-
tiosa obliterauit.

33 At ex regulis prior Mithridates Pharasmanem perpulit dolo
et ui conatus suos iuuare, repertique corruptores ministros
Arsacis multo auro ad scelus cogunt; simul Hiberi magnis
2 copiis Armeniam inrumpunt et urbe Artaxata potiuntur. Quae
postquam Artabano cognita, filium Oroden ultorem parat, dat
Parthorum **que copias, mittit qui auxilia mercede facerent;
contra Pharasmanes adiungere Albanos, accire Sarmatas, quo-
rum sceptuchi utrimque donis acceptis more gentico diuersa
3 induere. Sed Hiberi locorum potentes Caspia uia Sarmatam
in Armenios raptim effundunt. At qui Parthis aduentabant
facile arcebantur, cum alios incessus hostis clausisset, unum
reliquum mare inter et extremos Albanorum montes aestas
131r impediret, quia flatibus etesiarum implentur uada; | hibernus
auster reuoluit fluctus pulsoque introrsus freto breuia litorum
nudantur.

34 Interim Oroden sociorum inopem auctus auxilio Pharas-
manes uocare ad pugnam et detrectantem incessere, adequitare
castris, infensare pabula; ac saepe <in> modum obsidii sta-
tionibus cingebat, donec Parthi contumeliarum insolentes
circumsisterent regem, poscerent proelium. atque illis sola
2 in equite uis; Pharasmanes et pedite ualebat. Nam Hiberi
Albanique saltuosos locos incolentes duritiae patientiaeque
magis insueuere. Feruntque se Thessalis ortos, qua tempestate
Iaso post auectam Medeam genitosque ex ea liberos inanem
mox regiam Aeetae uacuosque Colchos repetiuit. Multaque de

1 <in> regendis *Otto* **7** uico natus *M* **8** haberi (*suprascr.* i M^c) *M* **11** parthorum quecopias *M*: *nomen alterius gentis uel post uel ante* Parthorum *excidisse putant quidam*: datque Parthorum *Beroaldus*: que *secl. Dübner* **12** accire *J. F. Gronovius*: accipere *M* **15** effundunt *Beroaldus*: effunt *M* **23** in *suppl. Muretus* **30** Aeetae *Beroaldus*: aetae *M*

nomine eius et oraclum Phrixi celebrant; nec quisquam ariete AD 35
sacrificauerit, credito uexisse Phrixum, siue id animal seu
3 nauis insigne fuit. Ceterum derecta utrimque acie Parthus
imperium Orientis, claritudinem Arsacidarum contraque ignobilem Hiberum mercennario milite disserebat; Pharasmanes 5
integros semet a Parthico dominatu, quanto maiora peterent, plus decoris uictores aut, si terga darent, flagitii atque periculi laturos; simul horridam suorum aciem, picta auro Medorum
35 agmina, hinc uiros, inde praedam ostendere. Enimuero apud
131v Sarmatas non una uox ducis: se quisque | stimulant ne pugnam 10
per sagittas sinerent: impetu et comminus praeueniendum.

Variae hinc bellantium species, cum Parthus sequi uel fugere pari arte suetus distraheret turmas, spatium ictibus quaereret, Sarmatae omisso arcu (quo breuius ualent) contis gladiisque ruerent: modo equestris proelii more frontis et tergi 15
uices, aliquando conserta acies, ut corporibus et pulsu armo-
2 rum pellerent, pellerentur. Iamque et Albani Hiberique prensare, detrudere, ancipitem pugnam hostibus facere, quos super eques et propioribus uulneribus pedites adflictabant. Inter quae Pharasmanes Orodesque, dum strenuis adsunt aut dubitantibus 20
subueniunt, conspicui eoque gnari, clamore, telis, equis concurrunt, instantius Pharasmanes (nam uulnus per galeam adegit); nec iterare ualuit, praelatus equo et fortissimis satellitum protegentibus saucium; fama tamen occisi falso credita exterruit Parthos uictoriamque concessere. 25

36 Mox Artabanus tota mole regni ultum iit. Peritia locorum ab Hiberis melius pugnatum; nec ideo abscedebat, ni contractis legionibus Vitellius et subdito rumore tamquam
2 Mesopotamiam inuasurus metum Romani belli fecisset. Tum omissa Armenia uersaeque Artabani res, inliciente Vitellio 30
desererent regem saeuum in pace et aduersis proeliorum

3 derecta *Halm*: dir– *M* **5** mercennarium militem *Acidalius* **11** sinerent *M*: inirent *Beroaldus* **13** artes uetus *M* **15** equestris *Rhenanus*: equites tres *M* **16** ut conserta acies *M* (ut *transpos. ante* corporibus *Woodman*): ut conferta acie *Heinsius* **26** ultum iit *Lipsius*: ultimi id *M*

132r exitiosum. | Igitur Sinnaces, quem antea infensum memoraui, AD 35
patrem Abdagaesen aliosque occultos consilii et tunc continuis cladibus promptiores ad defectionem trahit, adfluentibus paulatim qui metu magis quam beneuolentia subiecti repertis auctoribus sustulerant animum. Nec iam aliud Artabano reliquum quam si qui externorum corpori custodes aderant, suis quisque sedibus extorres, quis neque boni intellectus neque mali cura sed mercede aluntur ministri sceleribus. His adsumptis in longinqua et contermina Scythiae fugam maturauit, spe auxilii, quia Hyrcanis Carmaniisque per adfinitatem innexus erat; atque interim posse Parthos, absentium aequos, praesentibus mobilis, ad paenitentiam mutari.

37 At Vitellius profugo Artabano et flexis ad nouum regem popularium animis, hortatus Tiridaten parata capessere, robur legionum sociorumque ripam ad Euphratis ducit. Sacrificantibus, cum hic more Romano suouetaurilia daret, ille equum placando amni adornasset, nuntiauere accolae Euphraten nulla imbrium ui sponte et immensum attolli, simul albentibus spumis in modum diadematis sinuare orbes, auspicium prosperi transgressus. Quidam callidius interpretabantur initia conatus secunda neque diuturna, quia eorum quae terra caeloue portenderentur certior fides, fluminum instabilis natura simul | *132v* ostenderet omina raperetque.

Sed ponte nauibus effecto tramissoque exercitu primus Ornospades multis equitum milibus in castra uenit, exul quondam et Tiberio, cum Delmaticum bellum conficeret, haud inglorius auxiliator eoque ciuitate Romana donatus, mox repetita amicitia regis multo apud eum honore, praefectus campis qui Euphrate et Tigri inclutis amnibus circumflui Mesopotamiae nomen acceperunt. Neque multo post Sinnaces auget copias, et columen partium Abdagaeses gazam et paratus regios adicit. Vitellius ostentasse Romana arma satis ratus

2 consilii M^{mg} (*ut uid.*), *Faërnus*: consilit *M*: consulit *Pichena* **19** prosperi *Rhenanus*: –ere *M* **23** omnia *M*, *corr. Beroaldus* **29** Tigri *Halm*: –re *M*

monet Tiridaten primoresque, hunc, Phraatis aui et altoris AD 35
Caesaris quae<que> utrubique pulchra meminerit, illos, obsequium in regem, reuerentiam in nos, decus quisque suum et fidem retinerent. Exim cum legionibus in Syriam remeauit.

38 Quae duabus aestatibus gesta coniunxi quo requiesceret animus a domesticis malis. Non enim Tiberium, quamquam <qua>driennio post caedem Seiani, quae ceteros mollire solent, tempus, preces, satias mitigabant, quin incerta uel
2 abolita pro grauissimis et recentibus puniret. Eo <in> metu Fulcinius Trio, ingruentis accusatores haud perpessus, supremis tabulis multa et atrocia in Macronem ac praecipuos libertorum Caesaris composuit, ipsi fluxam senio mentem et con-
133r 3 tinuo abscessu uelut exilium | obiectando. Quae ab heredibus occultata recitari Tiberius iussit, patientiam libertatis alienae ostentans et contemptor suae infamiae, an scelerum Seiani diu nescius mox quoquo modo dicta uulgari malebat ueritatisque, cui adulatio officit, per probra saltem gnarus fieri.

4 Isdem diebus Granius Marcianus senator, a C. Graccho maiestatis postulatus, uim uitae suae attulit, Tariusque Gratianus praetura functus lege eadem extremum ad supplicium
39 damnatus. Nec dispares Trebellieni Rufi et Sexti<l>i Paconiani exitus: nam Trebellienus sua manu cecidit, Paconianus in carcere ob carmina illic in principem factitata strangulatus est.
2 Haec Tiberius non mari, ut olim, diuisus neque per longinquos nuntios accipiebat, sed urbem iuxta, eodem ut die uel noctis interiectu litteris consulum rescriberet, quasi aspiciens undantem per domos sanguinem aut manus carnificum.

3 Fine anni Poppaeus Sabinus concessit uita, modicus originis, principum amicitia consulatum ac triumphale decus adeptus maximisque prouinciis per quattuor et uiginti annos impositus, nullam ob eximiam artem sed quod par negotiis neque supra erat.

1 et altoris *Rhenanus*: ut alt– *M* **2** quae<que> *Neue* **4** exim (*suprascr.* n) *M* **7** <qua>driennio *Woodman post Nipperdey*: triennio *M* **9** eo <in> metu *Woodman*: eo¦metu *M*: eo metu *vulg.* **21** damnatur *Sirker*: damnatus <est> *Nipperdey* **21** Sexti<l>i *Courtney* (*cf. 6.3.4*)

40 Quintus Plautius Sex. Papinius consules sequuntur. Eo anno AD 36
neque quod *** L. Aruseius morte adfecti forent, adsuetudine
133v malorum ut atrox | aduertebatur, sed exterruit quod Vibulenus Agrippa eques Romanus, cum perorassent accusatores, in ipsa curia depromptum sinu uenenum hausit prolapsusque ac moribundus festinatis lictorum manibus in carcerem raptus est
2 faucesque iam exanimis laqueo uexatae. Ne Tigranes quidem, Armenia quondam potitus ac tunc reus, nomine regio supplicia ciuium effugit. At C. Galba consularis et duo Blaesi uoluntario exitu cecidere. Galba tristibus Caesaris litteris prouinciam sortiri prohibitus; Blaesis sacerdotia, integra eorum domo destinata, conuulsa distulerat, tunc ut uacua contulit in alios; quod
3 signum mortis intellexere et exsecuti sunt. Et Aemilia Lepida, quam iuueni Druso nuptam rettuli, crebris criminibus maritum insectata, quamquam intestabilis, tamen impunita agebat dum superfuit pater Lepidus; post a delatoribus corripitur ob seruum adulterum, nec dubitabatur de flagitio: ergo omissa defensione finem uitae sibi posuit.

41 Per idem tempus Cietarum natio Cappadoci Archelao subiecta, quia nostrum in modum deferre census, pati tributa adigebatur, in iuga Tauri montis abscessit locorumque ingenio sese contra imbelles regis copias tutabatur, donec M.
134r Trebellius | legatus, a Vitellio praeside Syriae cum quattuor milibus legionariorum et delectis auxiliis missus, duos colles quos barbari insederant (minori Cadra, alteri Dauara nomen est) operibus circumdedit et erumpere ausos ferro, ceteros siti ad deditionem coegit.

2 At Tiridates uolentibus Parthis Nicephorium et Anthemusiada ceterasque urbes quae Macedonibus sitae Graeca uocabula usurpant, Halumque et Artemitam, Parthica oppida, recepit, certantibus gaudio qui Artabanum Scythas inter eductum ob

1 Quintus *Rhenanus*: –tius *M* **2** *Lacunam hic statuit Woodman, alibi alii* **3–4** Vibulenus *M*: Vibullius *Syme* **4** romanos (*suprascr.* u M^c) *M* **8** potitus *Beroaldus*: positus *M*: impositus M^{mg} **9** blaesii *M*, *corr. Aurelius* **15** intestabilis *Beroaldus*: –biles *M* **29** quae <a> Macedonibus *Faërnus*

saeuitiam exsecrati come Tiridatis ingenium Romanas per artes AD 36
42 sperabant. Plurimum adulationis Seleucenses induere, ciuitas potens, saepta muris neque in barbarum corrupta sed conditoris Seleuci retinens. Trecenti opibus aut sapientia delecti ut
2 senatus, sua populo uis. Et quotiens concordes agunt, spernitur Parthus; ubi dissensere, dum sibi quisque contra aemulos subsidium uocant, accitus in partem aduersum omnes ualescit. Id nuper acciderat Artabano regnante, qui plebem primoribus tradidit ex suo usu: nam populi imperium iuxta libertatem, pau-
3 corum dominatio regiae libidini propior est. Tum aduentantem Tiridaten extollunt ueterum regum honoribus et quos recens aetas largius inuenit; simul probra in Artabanum fundebant,
134v materna origine Arsaciden, | cetera degenerem.

4 Tiridates rem Seleucensem populo permittit. Mox consultans quonam die sollemnia regni capesseret, litteras Phraatis et Hieronis, qui ualidissimas praefecturas obtinebant, accipit, breuem moram precantium. Placitumque opperiri uiros praepollentes, atque interim Ctesiphon sedes imperii petita; sed, ubi diem ex die prolatabant, multis coram et adprobantibus
43 Surena patrio more Tiridaten insigni regio euinxit. Ac, si statim interiora ceterasque nationes petiuisset, oppressa cunctantium dubitatio et omnes in unum cedebant; adsidendo castellum in quod pecuniam et paelices Artabanus contulerat, dedit spatium exuendi pacta. Nam Phraates et Hiero et si qui alii delectum capiendo diademati diem haud concelebrauerant, pars metu,
2 quidam inuidia in Abdagaesen, qui tum aula et nouo rege potiebatur, ad Artabanum uertere; isque in Hyrcanis repertus est, inluuie obsitus et alimenta arcu expediens.

Ac primo tamquam dolus pararetur territus, ubi data fides reddendae dominationi uenisse, adleuatur animum et quae
3 repentina mutatio exquirit. Tum Hiero pueritiam Tiridatis increpat, neque penes Arsaciden imperium sed inane nomen

5 spernitur *Rhenanus*: –untur *M* **16** praefecturis *M* **20** tiridan *M* **22** dubitatione omnes *Freinsheim*

135r apud imbellem externa mollitia, uim in Abdagaesis | domo. AD 36
44 Sensit uetus regnandi falsos in amore odia non fingere; nec ultra moratus quam dum Scytharum auxilia conciret, pergit properus et praeueniens inimicorum astus, amicorum paenitentiam. Neque exuerat paedorem ut uulgum miseratione aduerteret. Non fraus, non preces, nihil omissum quo ambiguos inliceret,
2 prompti firmarentur. Iamque multa manu propinqua Seleuciae aduentabat, cum Tiridates simul fama atque ipso Artabano perculsus distrahi consiliis: iret contra an bellum cunc-
3 tatione tractaret? Quibus proelium et festinati casus placebant, disiectos et longinquitate itineris fessos ne animo quidem satis ad obsequium coaluisse disserunt, proditores nuper hostesque
4 eius quem rursum foueant. Verum Abdagaeses regrediendum in Mesopotamiam censebat, ut amne obiecto, Armeniis interim Elymaeisque et ceteris a tergo excitis, aucti copiis socialibus et quas dux Romanus misisset fortunam temptarent. Ea sententia ualuit, quia plurima auctoritas penes Abdagaesen et Tiri-
5 dates ignauus ad pericula erat. Sed fugae specie discessum; ac principio a gente Arabum facto ceteri domos abeunt uel in castra Artabani, donec Tiridates cum paucis in Syriam reuectus pudore proditionis omnes exsoluit.

45 Idem annus graui igne urbem adficit, deusta parte circi |
135v quae Auentino contigua, ipsoque Auentino; quod damnum Caesar ad gloriam uertit exsolutis domuum et insularum pretiis. Milies sestertium in munificentia ea conlocatum, tanto acceptius in uulgum quanto modicus priuatis aedificationibus ne publice quidem nisi duo opera struxit, templum Augusto et scaenam Pompeiani theatri; eaque perfecta, contemptu
2 ambitionis an per senectutem, haud dedicauit. Sed aestimando cuiusque detrimento quattuor progeneri Caesaris, Cn. Domitius, Cassius Longinus, M. Vinicius, Rubellius Blandus delecti additusque nominatione consulum P. Petronius. Et pro ingenio

3 dum *Rhenanus*: tum *M* **9** perculsus *Rhenanus*: percussus *M* **19** agenti *M*, *corr. Beroaldus* **22** adfecit *Wurm* **25** *Vtrum* ea (*M*^{mg}) *hic inserendum (sic Otto) an pro* in *scribendum (sic Beroaldus) incertum uidetur* **31** rurellius (*suprascr.* b) *M*

cuius<que> quaesiti decretique in principem honores; quos omiserit receperitue in incerto fuit ob propinquum uitae finem. AD 36

3 Neque enim multo post supremi Tiberio consules, Cn. Acer- AD 37
ronius C. Pontius, magistratum occepere, nimia iam potentia Macronis, qui gratiam C. Caesaris numquam sibi neglectam acrius in dies fouebat impuleratque post mortem Claudiae, quam nuptam ei rettuli, uxorem suam Enniam imitando amorem iuuenem inlicere pactoque matrimonii uincire, nihil abnuentem dum dominationis apisceretur. Nam etsi commotus ingenio simulationum tamen falsa in sinu aui perdidicerat.

46 Gnarum hoc principi, eoque dubitauit de tradenda re pub-
136r lica primum inter nepotes, quorum Druso | genitus sanguine et caritate propior sed nondum pubertatem ingressus, Germanici filio robur iuuentae, uulgi studia, eaque apud auum odii causa. Etiam de Claudio agitanti, quod is composita aetate bonarum
2 artium cupiens erat, imminuta mens eius obstitit. Sin extra domum successor quaereretur, ne memoria Augusti, ne nomen Caesarum in ludibria et contumelias uerterent metuebat: quippe illi non perinde curae gratia praesentium quam in pos-
3 teros ambitio. Mox incertus animi, fesso corpore consilium cui impar erat fato permisit, iactis tamen uocibus per quas intel-
4 legeretur prouidus futurorum. Namque Macroni non abdita ambage occidentem ab eo deseri, orientem spectari exprobrauit, et C. Caesari, forte orto sermone L. Sullam inridenti, omnia Sullae uitia et nullam eiusdem uirtutem habiturum praedixit. Simul crebris cum lacrimis minorem ex nepotibus complexus, truci alterius uultu, ‘Occides hunc tu’, inquit, ‘et
5 te alius’. Sed grauescente ualetudine nihil e libidinibus omittebat, in patientia firmitudinem simulans solitusque eludere medicorum artes atque eos qui post tricesimum aetatis annum ad internoscenda corpori suo utilia uel noxia alieni consilii indigerent.

1 cuius<que> *Beroaldus* **3** consulis *M* **8** pactoq; M.|patri monii uincere *M*, *corr. Beroaldus* **29** impatientia *Muretus*: impotentia *Hiller*

47 Interim Romae futuris etiam post Tiberium caedibus semina iaciebantur. Laelius Balbus Acutiam, P. Vitellii quondam uxorem, maiestatis postulauerat; qua damnata cum praemium accusatori decerneretur, Iunius Otho tribunus plebei intercesAD 37
136v 2 sit, | unde illis odia, mox Othoni exitium. Dein multorum amoribus famosa Albucilla, cui matrimonium cum Satrio Secundo coniurationis indice fuerat, defertur impietatis in principem; conectebantur ut conscii et adulteri eius Cn. Domitius, Vibius Marsus, L. Arruntius. De claritudine Domitii supra memoraui; Marsus quoque uetustis honoribus et inlustris
3 studiis erat. Sed testium interrogationi, tormentis seruorum Macronem praesedisse commentarii ad senatum missi ferebant, nullaeque in eos imperatoris litterae suspicionem dabant inualido ac fortasse ignaro ficta pleraque ob inimicitias Macro**48** nis notas in Arruntium. Igitur Domitius defensionem meditans, Marsus tamquam inediam destinauisset, produxere uitam; Arruntius, cunctationem et moras suadentibus amicis, non eadem omnibus decora respondit: sibi satis aetatis neque aliud paenitendum quam quod inter ludibria et pericula anxiam senectam tolerauisset, diu Seiano, nunc Macroni, semper alicui potentium inuisus, non culpa sed ut flagitiorum impatiens;
2 sane paucos ad suprema principis dies posse uitari; quem ad modum euasurum imminentis iuuentam? an, cum Tiberius post tantam rerum experientiam ui dominationis conuulsus et mutatus sit, C. Caesarem uix finita pueritia, ignarum omnium aut pessimis innutritum, meliora capessiturum Macrone duce,
137r qui, ut deterior | ad opprimendum Seianum delectus, plura per scelera rem publicam conflictauisset? prospectare iam se
3 acrius seruitium eoque fugere simul acta et instantia. Haec uatis in modum dictitans uenas resoluit. Documento sequentia
4 erunt bene Arruntium morte usum. Albucilla inrito ictu a

2 Laelius *Beroaldus* (*M*^{mg}): laetius *M* **3** quadam nata *M* **5** exitium *Nipperdey*: exilium *M* **12** praesedisse *Beroaldus*: praesidiis se *M* **19** pericularia *M*, *corr. Beroaldus* **22** ad suprema *Madvig*: et suprema *M*: et supremos *Rhenanus* **30–31** documento . . . usum *secl. Fuchs* **31** a *Rhenanus*: ac *M*: ab *Otto*

semet uulnerata iussu senatus in carcerem fertur. Stuprorum AD 37
eius ministri, Carsidius Sacerdos praetorius ut in insulam deportaretur, Ponti<li>us Fregellanus amitteret ordinem senatorium, et eaedem poenae in Laelium Balbum decernuntur, id quidem a laetantibus, quia Balbus truci eloquentia habebatur, promptus aduersum insontes.

49 Isdem diebus Sex. Papinius consulari familia repentinum et informem exitum delegit, iacto in praeceps corpore. Causa ad matrem referebatur, quae pridem repudiata adsentationibus atque luxu perpulisset iuuenem ad ea quorum effugium non nisi
2 morte inueniret. Igitur accusata in senatu, quamquam genua patris <eius> aduolueretur luctumque communem et magis imbecillum tali super casu feminarum animum aliaque in eundem dolorem maesta et miseranda diu ferret, urbe tamen in decem annos prohibita est, donec minor filius lubricum iuuentae exiret.

50 Iam Tiberium corpus, iam uires, nondum dissimulatio deserebat: idem animi rigor; sermone ac uultu intentus quaesita interdum comitate quamuis manifestam defectionem tegebat.
137v Mutatisque saepius locis | tandem apud promunturium Miseni
2 consedit in uilla cui L. Lucullus quondam dominus. Illic eum adpropinquare supremis tali modo compertum.

Erat medicus arte insignis, nomine Charicles, non quidem regere ualetudines principis solitus, consilii tamen copiam praebere. Is uelut propria ad negotia digrediens et per speciem
3 officii manum complexus pulsum uenarum attigit. Neque fefellit: nam Tiberius, incertum an offensus tantoque magis iram premens, instaurari epulas iubet discumbitque ultra solitum, quasi honori abeuntis amici tribueret. Charicles tamen labi
4 spiritum nec ultra biduum duraturum Macroni firmauit. Inde cuncta conloquiis inter praesentes, nuntiis apud legatos et exercitus festinabantur. XVII Kal. Aprilis interclusa anima

2 Carsidius *Reinesius*: grasidius *M* **3** deportatur *M*, *corr. Rhenanus* **3** Ponti<li>us *von Rohden*, *Fuchs*: Pontius *M* **5** a *M*, *secl. Acidalius* **12** patris *M*: patrum *Rhenanus* **12** eius *suppl. Woodman* **14** diu ferret *M*: differret *Lipsius*: dissereret *Boxhorn*

creditus est mortalitatem expleuisse; et multo gratantum con- AD 37
cursu ad capienda imperii primordia C. Caesar egrediebatur,
cum repente adfertur redire Tiberio uocem ac uisus uocarique
5 qui recreandae defectioni cibum adferrent. Pauor hinc in
omnes, et ceteri passim dispergi, se quisque maestum aut 5
nescium fingere; Caesar in silentium fixus a summa spe nouis-
sima expectabat. Macro intrepidus opprimi senem iniectu
multae uestis iubet discedique ab limine.

Sic Tiberius finiuit octauo et septuagesimo aetatis anno.
51 Pater ei Nero et utrimque origo gentis Claudiae, quamquam 10
138r mater | in Liuiam et mox Iuliam familiam adoptionibus
transierit. Casus prima ab infantia ancipites: nam proscrip-
tum patrem exul secutus, ubi domum Augusti priuignus introiit,
multis aemulis conflictatus est dum Marcellus et Agrippa, mox
Gaius Luciusque Caesares uiguere; etiam frater eius Drusus 15
2 prosperiore ciuium amore erat. Sed maxime in lubrico egit
accepta in matrimonium Iulia, impudicitiam uxoris tolerans
aut declinans. Dein Rhodo regressus uacuos principis penates
duodecim annis, mox rei Romanae arbitrium tribus ferme et
uiginti obtinuit. 20

3 Morum quoque tempora illi diuersa: egregium uita famaque
quoad priuatus uel in imperiis sub Augusto fuit; occultum ac
subdolum fingendis uirtutibus donec Germanicus ac Drusus
superfuere; idem inter bona malaque mixtus incolumi matre;
intestabilis saeuitia sed obtectis libidinibus dum Seianum dilexit 25
timuitue; postremo in scelera simul ac dedecora prorupit
postquam remoto pudore et metu suo tantum ingenio utebatur.

9 uitam *post* finiuit *suppl. Heinsius, ante Ritter* **12** transierat *Ernesti* **17** impudicitiam *Beroaldus* (*M*^{mg}): indicitiam *M* **21–23** egregius . . . occultus ac subdolus *Pichena*: egregio . . . occulto ac subdolo *Acidalius* **22** quoad *Beroaldus*: qua ad *M* **25** intestabili *Heinsius* **25** obtectis *Beroaldus*: obiectis *M*

COMMENTARY

BOOK 5

1–5 THE YEAR AD 29

Tacitus closes Books 1–6 of the *Annals* with Tiberius' obituary notice, in which the various stages of the *princeps*' moral and behavioural deterioration are dated by the successive deaths of his various partners in power – Germanicus, Drusus, Livia, and Sejanus. The *princeps* is presented as a figure who became increasingly isolated as the years of his principate passed by, until in his final period he had 'only himself to rely on' (6.51.3 'suo tantum ingenio utebatur') and he became the 'lonely old man' that he described when writing to the senate in AD 31 (Suet. *Tib.* 65.1 'senex et solus').[1] The penultimate partner of whom he was deprived was his aged mother, Livia, whose death and obituary notice constitute the opening to Book 5;[2] since readers of the *Annals* would have known that her death was the prelude to the triumph and fall of Sejanus, memorably described by Juvenal in Satire 10 (56–113),[3] the start of AD 29 marks almost as significant a moment as did the start of AD 23 at the beginning of the previous book: each opening coincides with a new stage in the degeneration which accompanied the *princeps*' increasingly lonely life (see 6.51.3n. *morum*).

Unfortunately modern readers do not know how Tacitus treated the dramatic events of the years 29–31, since it is only the opening and ending of Book 5 which have survived.[4] Ginsburg has observed how, after Germanicus' death in 20, 'it is the family and friends of Germanicus which occupy the historian' at the beginning of each narrative year.[5] The extant narrative of 29 is no exception: the death of Livia constitutes an event which is 'decisive for the fortunes of the family of Germanicus', and the verbal hostility which Tiberius displays towards his dead mother (2.2 *increpuit*) is soon replaced by accumulating hostility towards Germanicus' wife and son (3.2 *obiectabat*, *incusauit*, *infense inuectus*). Yet such antagonism is only part of a wider displeasure, as the *princeps* turns his attention also to people and senate (5 *increpita*, *questus*). Since at

[1] For this interpretation of the obituary see the Commentary on 6.51.3.
[2] Deliberately excluded by Syme from his treatment of Tacitean obituary notices (*TST* 79 n. 2).
[3] Syme suggested that Juvenal's description 'betrays awareness of Tacitus' account' (*RP* 3.1148). On T. and Juvenal see *CCT* 36, C. Keane in *CT* 403–27, each with further refs.
[4] For the lacunose state of Book 5 see the Introduction (above, pp. 3–9).
[5] Ginsburg 26.

this time Tiberius had long been ensconced on Capri, each of his communications had to be delivered to Rome by letter (cf. 2.1–2, 3.1), and on each occasion he speaks with the ominous obscurity which had become so characteristic. His letter about his mother was obliquely critical of one of her friends (2.2 'oblique perstringens') and that concerning Agrippina and Nero Caesar left its imperative unclear (3.2 'cetera ambigua'). In the case of the senators, he attacked them for failing to punish Rusticus and yet demanded that the decision on punishment be left to himself (5).

It is at this point that there is a lacuna of almost three whole years in the narrative, whose story resumes (5.6–11) in the later months of AD 31 after Sejanus' execution (below, pp. 67–81).

The death of Livia and its sequel

1.1 Rubellio et Fufio consulibus If we exclude AD 14 as a special case (cf. 1.1.3, 1.4.2, 1.6.1; *Tac. Rev.* 23), every narrative year in the *Annals* except possibly AD 20 (cf. 3.1.1 ~ 3.2.3 [n.]) begins with the names of the *consules ordinarii*, almost always in the ablative absolute. In the Tiberian *Annals* each of the extant books (again with the exception of Book 1 and possibly Book 3) begins with the beginning of a narrative year; in the later *Annals* only Book 14 follows this pattern (see S. Bartera, 'Year-beginnings in the Neronian books of Tacitus' *Annals*', *MH* 68 (2011), esp. 167–9). If we exclude those cases where the *princeps* or a member of his family is consul, T. in the extant *Annals* as a whole uses at least two names to identify the *consules ordinarii* by whom he dates each new year. By far the commonest formula is *praenomen* and *nomen* or, less usually, *cognomen* (as 2.41.2 'C. Caelio L. Pomponio' or 6.15.1 'Ser. Galba L. Sulla'); roughly half as common is *nomen* and *cognomen* (as 4.17.1 'Cornelio Cethego Visellio Varrone'); twice he combines both formulae (4.46.1 'Lentulo Gaetulico C. Caluisio', 16.14.1 'C. Suetonio Luccio Telesino'); and twice he uses three names (2.1.1 'Sisenna Statilio Tauro L. Libone', where the text has been questioned, and 12.41.1 'Ti. Claudio quintum Seruio Cornelio Orfito', where one of the consuls is the *princeps*). The opening of Book 5 is therefore unique: only here does the dating formula employ only one name, and that is because T. is setting up the revelation that the consuls shared the same cognomen (next n.).

quorum utrique Geminus cognomentum erat The consuls' second name is supplied by a relative clause, an anomaly which encourages the reader to reflect on the double coincidence that two men whose name is 'Twin' are twinned in a magistracy which was itself twinned (cf. Petron. 123, line 238 'gemino cum consule Magnus', 'Pompey along with each consul'). This case is therefore more pointed than that of the two decemvirs mentioned at Liv. 31.4.3 'C. et M. Seruilii (Geminis ambobus cognomen erat)', a passage which T. may have had in mind (cf. also 35.24.6). An inscription records a

young soldier 'missus duobus Geminis' (EJ 251 = *CIL* 6.2489 = *ILS* 2028), i.e. sent out in AD 29 (likewise *CIL* 15.4573 'Geminis II'). Names denoting the circumstances of a birth were intrinsically interesting (Quint. 1.4.25 'origines nominum quae . . . ex casu nascentium . . . eueniunt'; cf. I. Kajanto, *The Latin cognomina* (1965) 73, 75–6, 294), but T. is generally fascinated by many kinds of name and plays thereon (3.75.1n.; *Tac. Rev.* 218ff.).

For L. Rubellius Geminus see *RE* 1A.1160 = Rubellius 7 (Philipp), *PIR* 7.1.86–7 no. 113, *BNP* 12.744 [Rubellius 4]; he was a younger brother of Rubellius Blandus (6.27.1), or perhaps a nephew (*RP* 4.186; there is a stemma in *PIR*). For C. Fufius Geminus see *RE* 7. 208–10 = Fufius 15 (Groag), *PIR* 3.206–7 no. 511, *BNP* 5.573 [Fufius II 2], Rüpke 697 no. 1750. The former does not recur in the extant text and nothing more is known about him (*RP* 4.186 'Geminus is only a name'); for the latter see 2.2 below. Both consuls had left office by 6 July and been replaced by the *consules suffecti*, A. Plautius and L. Nonius Asprenas (*ILS* 6124, *CIL* 1^2, p. 71).

For T.'s overwhelming preference for *cognomentum* over *cognomen* see 1.23.5n., Malloch on 11.4.1. Syme stressed T.'s liking for nouns ending in *–mentum* (*Tac.* 341), but J. Perrot has shown that such formations were frequent in common language (*Les Dérivés latins en –men et –mentum* (1961), esp. 127–34).

Iulia Augusta mortem obiit Livia Drusilla was adopted into the Julian *gens* and given the honorific title 'Augusta' in her husband's will (1.8.1). Dio records that she was 86 at her death (58.2.1), but we do not know whether she died before or after her birthday, which fell on 30 January (EJ p. 46);[6] the most that can be assumed (see Ginsburg 107 n. 12, Barrett, *Livia* 309–10) is that she died before the *consules ordinarii* had relinquished their office (last n.). The obituary notice which follows begins with her family background, proceeds through her life, and concludes with a 'devastating summary' of her character (C. Pelling, 'Biographical history? Cassius Dio on the early Principate', in M. J. Edwards and S. Swain (edd.), *Portraits: biographical representation in the Greek and Latin literature of the Roman Empire* (1997) 139). For her see *RE* 12.900–27 = Livia 37 (Ollendorff), *PIR* 5.1.73–9 no. 301, *BNP* 7.738–40 [Livia 2]; Kienast 83–4; C. Kunst, *Livia: Macht und Intrigen am Hof des Augustus* (2008). For her nomenclature see Barrett, *Livia* 307–8.

[6] 'Livia cannot conceivably have been born thirty days into the month of January, since when she was born, in 58 BCE, under the Republican calendar, January was a short month of 29 days. In 58 BCE Livia must have been born on "the third (inclusive) day before the Kalends of February," *ante diem tertium Kalendas Februarias*, on the twenty-eighth day of January as it then was; when the Julian reform came she simply went on celebrating her birthday on "the third day before the Kalends" as before, except that now the identical "date" denoted a different day' (Feeney 156).

aetate extrema . . . clarissimae In view of its position next to the verb, it is natural to take *aetate extrema* as an adverbial ablative of attendant circumstances or perhaps cause; but this produces a very awkward juxtaposition with *nobilitatis . . . clarissimae*, which is an adjectival genitive of description with an altogether different and much wider frame of reference. Editors sense this awkwardness and place a comma after *obiit*, isolating *aetate extrema* and hoping to transform it into an ablative of description which is parallel to the adjectival genitive; yet '<a woman> at extreme old age <and> of the most brilliant nobility' still reads very oddly. I suggest that *femina* has been omitted by mistake after *extrema* ('. . . died at an extreme old age, a woman of the most brilliant nobility . . . '). T. elsewhere has *femina* in apposition (12.22.3, 13.32.2) and combines the noun with a reference to nobility (e.g. 2.75.1 'femina nobilitate princeps', 12.6.1 'deligi oportere feminam nobilitate . . . insignem'); for both features together cf. 11.12.2 'Iuniam Silanam, nobilem feminam'.

In addition to her own adoption into the Julian family (last n.), Livia was the daughter of M. Livius Drusus Claudianus (perhaps praetor in 50 BC: see *MRR* 2.248): he had been adopted by M. Livius Drusus (the well known trib. pleb. of 91 BC) and, although the identity of his biological father is not known for certain, the name 'Claudianus' indicates that he was a Claudius (see D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Two studies in Roman nomenclature* (1991) 55 and 77, who describes the father as simply 'a Claudius Pulcher'). For the family background see Barrett, *Livia* 3–18.

Primum . . . cum Tiberio Nerone Livia married Tiberius Claudius Nero in (probably) 43 BC, when she was 15 or 16 and he was in his thirties; the future emperor Tiberius, her first child, was born on 16 November 42 (EJ p. 54); his brother, Nero Claudius Drusus (the elder Drusus and father of Germanicus), was born in 38 BC (below, 2n.). For Ti. Claudius Nero see *RE* 3.2777–8 = Claudius 254 (Münzer), *BNP* 3.394 [Claudius I 19].

bello Perusino profugus After his praetorship in 42 BC, Ti. Nero attached himself to L. Antonius and followed him to Perusia; when the town surrendered to Octavian in 40 after a long siege, he escaped and, accompanied by his wife and child, fled to Sicily and then to Greece (*MRR* 2.373, 381). The dramatic story, emphasising the roles of Livia and the infant *princeps*, is told by Vell. 74.4–75.3 (on the passage see K. Welch, 'Velleius and Livia: making a portrait', in Cowan 309–34).

pace . . . pacta The reference is to the Peace of Misenum in 39 (*MRR* 2.386–7). *pace . . . pacta* is a Livian expression (31.29.13 'pacis pactae' and 16 'pacem . . . pactam'), but it is impossible to know whether *pacta* is from *pango* (as Liv. 9.11.7 'pacem . . . pepigistis', 24.29.7, 37.19.2 'pax . . . quam . . . pepigerimus') or from *pacisco* (as perhaps Liv. 29.12.1 'paciscendam . . . pacem'; cf. 9.11.9 'pacem quam . . . pactus sum', 40.25.3): any

difference in meaning (*pango* would perhaps stress the end result of the Peace, *pacisco* the process of negotiation: see M. de Vaan, *Etymological dictionary of Latin and other Italic languages* (2008) 442–3, 452) cannot be gathered from the context, and each verb may be constructed with *inter*; for the ancient etymologies see Maltby 440, 458. For Sex. Pompeius see K. Welch, *Magnus Pius: Sextus Pompeius and the transformation of the Roman Republic* (2012).

1.2 Exin Caesar cupidine formae aufert marito Livia's *forma* drew comment from Ovid (*Ex P.* 3.1.117) and Velleius (75.3); for her image see E. Bartman, *Portraits of Livia* (1999); also Barrett, *Livia* plates 11–25. *cupidine formae* suggests the end of an hexameter and indeed features in Ovid's story of a besotted and impatient nymph (*Met.* 4.346–7 'nudaeque cupidine formae | Salmacis exarsit', 350 'uixque moram patitur'); cf. also [Quint.] *Decl.* 3.6 'illa libido . . . quae ad obscenos ueneris inpetus formae cupidine incenditur'. At the time of the 'abduction' Octavian was himself married to Scribonia (mother of Julia), whom he therefore divorced. See M. Flory, '*Abducta Neroni uxor*: the historiographical tradition on the marriage of Octavian and Livia', *TAPA* 118 (1988) 343–59, who argues that the hostile view of the marriage, as found in T., originated in contemporary Antonian propaganda. For T.'s use of *exin* see 3.13.1n.

incertum an inuitam The elliptical use of *incertum an*, described as either parenthetical (so 1.11.4n.) or 'extra-syntactical' (C. L. Whitton, '*Dubitatio comparativa*', *CQ* 61 (2011) 267–77), is common in T. (G–G 614a; Malloch on 11.18.3) and used for widely different purposes, often to introduce an element of cynicism. If the usual meaning of the phrase ('perhaps') is operative here, T. is saying that Livia was 'perhaps unwilling' to be abducted by Octavian (presumably because she was six months pregnant with her husband's child): the note of uncertainty serves as a cynical reminder that her reluctance would soon change. Many scholars, however, seem to assume that here *incertum an* has its less common meaning of 'perhaps not' or 'scarcely' (for which see *TLL* 7.1.879.22–30): Livia was 'scarcely unwilling' to be abducted by Octavian, the cynicism in this case being directed both at her husband (for proving unsatisfactory) and at Livia herself (for her adulterous preferences). Merkelbach, asking how there could possibly be any uncertainty about a relationship which was famously devoted, proposed to read *inuito*, an allusion to the fact that Livia was actually betrothed to Octavian by her ex-husband (Vell. 79.2 'despondente . . . Nerone, cui ante nupta fuerat', 94.1, Dio 48.44.3): the cynical insinuation would be that Nero was glad to be rid of her, 'eine echt taciteische Bosheit gegen Livia' (109). Yet, despite the lack of an expressed object of *aufert*, it does not seem likely that *inuito* would have been corrupted into *inuitam*; and for other exs. of similar betrothals see Treggiari 145.

adeo properus ut . . . induxerit T. at 1.10.5 reports a charade in which the pontiffs were consulted about whether Livia could properly marry when pregnant ('abducta Neroni uxor et consulti per ludibrium pontifices an concepto necdum edito partu rite nuberet'): since the report is sandwiched between passages of *oratio obliqua*, its authorial status is characteristically unclear (G. suggests that a verb of saying 'seems to be understood'). For the speed of Octavian's actions see also Suet. *Aug.* 69.1 'festinatas Liuiae nuptias'; for the marriage in general see Barrett, *Livia* 19–27. For the adverbial use of *properus*, common in T. (18×) but otherwise largely poetic, see 1.65.4n.

According to Suetonius (*Claud.* 1.1; cf. *Aug.* 62.2) and Dio (48.44.1), Livia was six months pregnant when she married Octavian,[7] an event which took place on 17 January 38 BC (EJ p. 46), and Velleius says that Livia gave birth to Drusus 'intra Caesaris penates' (95.1). However, Suetonius reports elsewhere (*Claud.* 11.3) that the emperor Claudius once proclaimed that Drusus shared the same birthday as Mark Antony, his grandfather, who is known to have been born on 14 January 83 BC (EJ p. 45).[8] There is thus an apparent inconsistency between the two January dates (see Barrett, *Livia* 313–14), which has been explained with reference to Caesar's introduction of the Julian calendar (in 45 BC). In 83 BC, according to G. Radke's highly speculative estimate, the Roman calendar was out of synchronisation with the solar year by 93 days ('Der Geburtstag des älteren Drusus', *WJA* 4 (1978) 211–13), and so the date given for Antony's birth, 14 January (xix K. Feb.), in the imperial Fasti Verulani may be the Julian equivalent of 28 March (v K. Apr.) in the pre-Julian calendar. A birth date of 28 March 38 BC for Drusus fits the notion of a 6-month pregnancy at the time of Livia's marriage in mid-January.

subolem For this elevated and archaising noun see 4.8.4n., Malloch on 11.12.1.

sanguini Augusti . . . communes pronepotes habuit Agrippina, the daughter of Julia and Agrippa (and hence granddaughter of Augustus), and Germanicus, the son of the elder Drusus and the younger Antonia (and hence grandson of Livia), were married in (probably) AD 5 and had nine children (see e.g. Raepsaet-Charlier 634–5 no. 812). *familiam* and *matrimonium* at 1 above are varied respectively by *sanguini* and *coniunctionem* (*OLD* 3c) here (not listed by Sörbom 17).

[7] The suspicion that she was pregnant by Octavian is mentioned by Suetonius (*Claud.* 1.1).

[8] Antony's birth date itself has interesting complications (see Feeney 155–6, referring to W. Suerbaum, 'Merkwürdige Geburtstage: Der nicht-existierende Gerburtstag des M. Antonius, der doppelte Geburtstag des Augustus, der neue Geburtstag der Livia und der vorzeitige Geburtstag des älteren Drusus', *Chiron* 19 (1980) 327–55).

1.3 Sanctitate domus priscum ad morem The reference is to morality in general, as Juv. 14.68–9 'ut sanctam filius omni | aspiciat sine labe domum uitioque carentem'; commentators say that a word such as *habita* ('maintained') or *relata* ('judged by reference to') must be understood (i.e. an elliptical abl. abs.), but we might equally well understand *egit* ('lived') and take *sanctitate* as an abl. of respect: in that case *ad* will mean 'in accordance with' or 'so as to conform to' (*OLD* 34). The placing of a preposition between adj. and noun (again at 3.3 below) is common in T. and tends to emphasise the adj. (3.16.1n., adding A. M. Devine and L. D. Stephens, *Latin word order* (2006) 568–75), which here prepares for the contrasting phrase which follows.

comis ultra quam antiquis feminis probatum *comitas* is not one of the more commonly attested virtues of a wife but appears in the *Laudatio Turiae* (1.30 'domestica bona pudicitiae, opsequi, comitatis, facilitatis') and in Pliny's praise of Fannia (*Ep.* 7.19.7 'quam iucunda, quam comis'); Treggiari 241. Conversely the *prob(at)a femina* seems a more regular figure, e.g. Cic. *Caec.* 10, Liv. 39.11.5 'probam et antiqui moris feminam'.

mater . . . bene composita Livia's brief obituary concludes with an 'epitaph' which is chiastically arranged by relationships. Her 'lack of control' as a mother features at the very start of the Tiberian narrative (1.4.5 'matrem muliebri impotentia'), at the moment of her son's retirement to Capri (4.57.3 'traditur etiam matris impotentia extrusum'), and here at her death. 'The adjective *facilis* in praise of a *coniunx* is . . . rare in the epitaphs of Rome' (Treggiari 242), though the quality is present in the *Laudatio Turiae* (last n.): the author of the *Consolatio ad Liuiam* praises Livia for pleasing Augustus (42 'tanto tam placuisse uiro'); many scholars have seen in *facilis* an allusion to her alleged tolerance of, and even provision for, her husband's numerous affairs (Suet. *Aug.* 71.1, Dio 58.2.5). For the occasional coupling of *facilis* with *comis* (above) see Oakley on Liv. 7.33.2. *bene composita* ('well matched'), praise also bestowed on Livia's son Drusus and his wife Antonia (*Cons. Liv.* 301 'par bene compositum'; cf. *OLD compono* 3b), here alludes to *concordia*, which was a key quality both in a marriage (*Agr.* 6.1nn.; Treggiari 251–3) and in the kind of relationship between parent and offspring for which Tib. and Livia were celebrated (3.64.1n.): *artibus* may be either positive or neutral ('behaviour', 'qualities'), but the juxtaposition with *simulatione* may rather imply 'wiles', 'stratagems'.

1.4 testamentum diu inritum fuit *inritus* is a technical term for wills and similar legal documents (cf. *TLL* 7.2.432.55ff.) and would more normally mean 'invalid'; but *diu* indicates that here the word must rather mean 'unrealised' (cf. Suet. *Tib.* 51.2 'testamentum quoque eius *pro irrito* habuit'): whether this meaning is less technical is hard to say (see *OLD* 1–2). *diu* refers to a period of

several years, since it was Caligula who carried out the provisions of the will (Suet. *Cal.* 16.3, Dio 59.2.3–4).

Laudata est pro rostris a C. Caesare pronepote, qui mox rerum potitus est Caligula had been born on 31 August AD 12, so he was now 16 years old; at the age of 12 Augustus delivered a similar *laudatio* for his grandmother (Suet. *Aug.* 8.1, Quint. 12.6.1), as did Tib. at the age of 9 for his father (Suet. *Tib.* 6.4). Suetonius implies that Caligula delivered the funeral speech because he had been taken in by Livia after the banishment of his mother (*Cal.* 10.1): this makes excellent sense in itself but conflicts with the chronology of events implied below at 3.1 (where see n. (*adlatas*)). *rostris* presumably refers to the so-called 'imperial rostra' at the western end of the Forum Romanum, in front of the Basilica Iulia, and replacing the republican rostra slightly further north (*LTUR* 4.214, Richardson 335–6); in either case the *rostra* were the traditional place for funeral eulogies (Plb. 6.53.1–2). *pro rostris* is also a conventional phrase but surprisingly is not found earlier than Livy (38.54.8): *pro* means 'above' or 'on top of', not 'in front of' (see Pelling on Plut. *Caes.* 61.4). Since Caligula became *princeps* on Tib.'s death on 16 March 37, this is a case where *mox* clearly = 'later' or 'in due course' *vel sim.* (cf. H. J. Rose, *CQ* 21 (1927) 57–66, G. Highet, *CJ* 36 (1941) 421–3); he was assassinated in January 41: for him see *RE* 10.381–423 = Iulius 133 (Gelzer), *PIR* 4.168–73 no. 217, *BNP* 2.955–7 [Caligula]; Rüpke 584–5 no. 1011; Kienast 85–7; Barrett, *Caligula*. For *rerum potiri*, 'to take/be in charge of affairs', see Fowler on Lucr. 2.13, although the reading at *RG* 34.1 is now agreed to be *potens*, not *potitus* (see below, 30.3n. *quo*).

2.1 quod . . . defuisset When Livia had been taken seriously ill in 22, Tib. rushed back to the city from Campania, where he had withdrawn the previous year in the interests of his own health (3.64.1n., cf. 3.31.2n.). But that was before his critical retirement to Capri in 27 (4.67.1); besides, he had a precedent for his present absence, since he (and Livia) had likewise failed to attend Germanicus' funeral in 20 (3.3.1–3). Suetonius reports that after Livia's death there was a delay of several days ('complurium dierum mora') during which Tib. held out an expectation that he would attend; but eventually the deterioration of the body required that the funeral go ahead (*Tib.* 51.2). With reference to such reports it has to be borne in mind that it would take quite some time for a message to travel from Capri to Rome, and in the present case news of Livia's death would have required time to reach Tib. in the first place (see further 6.5.2n. *nec*).

amoenitate uitae Since *amoenitas* is used esp. of localities, T. is doubtless alluding to the idyllic nature of the *princeps*' surroundings on Capri by a kind of metonymy (4.67.1–3; note *aestas . . . peramoena*). Sejanus' sales talk had

been more straightforward (4.41.1 'huc flexit ut Tiberium ad uitam . . . amoenis locis degendam impelleret').

magnitudinem negotiorum T. often puts Ciceronian phraseology into the *princeps*' mouth (see *Ann.* 3, Index 3, p. 513 'Tiberius: his speech, Ciceronian elements in'), and *m. negotii* (sing.) is esp. Ciceronian (4×; elsewhere at [Sall.] *Ep. Caes.* 7.1, Plin. *Ep.* 2.14.1). The excuse is also typically Tiberian (see esp. 1.11.1 'magnitudine imperii').

litteras The noun (for which see 3.16.1n.) is varied by *epistulae* below, as often (Sörbom 25). For the significance of Tib.'s letters see below, p. 96 (6.2–14 intro. n.).

honoresque . . . quasi per modestiam imminuit Tib. had acted similarly after Augustus' death (1.14.2 'moderandos feminarum honores dictitans . . . ne lictorem quidem ei decerni passus est aramque adoptionis et alia huiusce modi prohibuit'). Since *modestia* and its equivalents constituted perhaps the defining feature of Tib.'s principate (3.50.2n.), it would have been entirely reasonable and characteristic for the *princeps* to appeal to it, as T. represents him doing over grief for the dead Germanicus (3.6.1 'si modus adiceretur') and as Tib. perhaps himself did in the *Tabula Siarensis* in a similar connection (1.5 'adsu[e]ta sibi [moderatione', as emended by V. Hinz, *ZPE* 96 (1993) 59–63). On this interpretation *quasi per modestiam* will mean something like 'on the grounds of restraint' (cf. 1.24.3 'quasi per officium', 6.11.3 'quasi nescius exercendi', 15.58.2 'quasi externis'; *OLD* 5a). Yet, since *quasi* more usually 'falsam speciem indicat' (G–G 1255a), it cannot help but suggest also that the adduced reason is false and hence that the real reason for Tib.'s behaviour is the estrangement from his mother which in T.'s narrative develops between 22 and 26. In the former year relations between the two were still harmonious (3.64.1 'sincera adhuc inter matrem filiumque concordia siue occultis odiis'), whereas in the latter Tib. was said to have been driven from Rome by her *impotentia* (4.57.3), a theme taken up also by Suetonius (*Tib.* 51.1) and Dio (57.12.6). Syme, finding it inconsistent that anonymous verses were circulating about the estrangement as early as 15 (1.72.3 'carmina incertis auctoribus uulgata in . . . discordem cum matre animum'), suggested that 'The theme of discord between mother and son appears to derive largely from second thoughts by the historian' (*Tac.* 308 n. 2, cf. 696). Dio records the diminution of honours but offers no reason (58.2.1).

addito . . . maluisse Suetonius has the same story (*Tib.* 51.2 'prohibuit consecrari, quasi id ipsa mandasset'); *caelestis religio* is a Tacitean version of the more usual *caelestis honor* (1.10.8n.). Livia had in fact been given divine honours in her lifetime, esp. in the East (see e.g. 4.15.3, 4.55–6), and she was formally deified by her grandson Claudius on 17 January 42 (EJ p. 46): see Barrett,

Livia 207–14, 222–3 and 266–302 (a very convenient list of inscriptions and the like). For the abbreviated abl. abs., which T. uses 'more frequently and variously than his predecessors', see Malloch on 11.26.3.

2.2 Quin et 'and furthermore' (*OLD quin* 3b).

increpuit amicitias muliebres Commentators generally seem to think that T. is referring to Livia's 'friendships with women' and that Plancina (3.15.1, 17.1–2), Mutilia Prisca (4.12.4) and/or Urgulania (2.34.2) are meant; but, since the following mention of Fufius ('Fufium . . . perstringens') is explained by reference to his relationship with Livia ('is gratia Augustae floruerat'), it seems more likely that *amicitias muliebres* means 'her woman's friendships' and is a rhetorical plural referring to Fufius alone. Nevertheless Suetonius says that shortly after her death Tib. 'omnis . . . amicitias et familiaritates . . . adflixit' (*Tib.* 51.2).

oblique perstringens The phrase (again at 2.55.1, 5.11.1) suggests that Fufius was not mentioned by name (cf. 1.81.2, 4.70.4 for similar obliquity).

gratia . . . floruerat Ciceronian (4×); later at Suet. *Nero* 6.4.

alliciendis . . . animis Cf. Piso F17C = 17P, Cic. *Part. Or.* 121, *Off.* 2.48, Fronto p. 144.15 vdH²; for the dat. gerundive after *aptus* see 3.31.4n.

dicax idem et Tiberium acerbis facetiis inridere solitus *idem* (*OLD* 10a) underlines the slight paradox that Fufius was as effective with his caustic wit as he was with the seductive blandishments implicitly attributed to him above (*alliciendis . . . animis*). Since *facetiae* is found only in the plural, it is often difficult to decide whether it has the abstract meaning 'wit' or the less common meaning 'witticisms'; that the latter are meant here is suggested by the reference to memorableness in the relative clause below (see next n.; also for *acerbis*). The distinction between *dicacitas* and *facetiae* is explained by Cicero, the only other author in whose works the terms (and their corresponding adjs.) are conjoined; unfortunately, however, the explanations are not consistent. In the *De Oratore* (55 BC) we are told that there are 'duo genera facetiarum', to which the ancients gave the names *cauillatio* and *dicacitas* respectively (2.218); the former refers to sustained humour, the latter is characterised by brevity and the *bon mot* (219–20 'cum ante illud facete dictum emissum haerere debeat quam cogitari potuisse uideatur . . . in celeritate atque dicto est'): see e.g. E. Fantham, *The Roman world of Cicero's* De Oratore (2004) 189–90. But almost a decade later (46 BC), in the *Orator*, we are told that there are two types of *sales* called *facetiae* and *dicacitas* (87 'sales . . . quorum duo genera sunt, unum facetiarum, alterum dicacitatis'): here the definition of *dicacitas* remains the same, but *facetiae* has taken the place of *cauillatio*. It is not clear which of these two distinctions, if either, is intended by T. (it is the *Orator* passage which is quoted by his

contemporary Quintilian, 6.3.42); it is not even clear whether, or to what extent, these distinctions operated outside the world of rhetorical theory. Indeed in the *De Oratore* the distinction is no sooner formulated than abandoned, since almost immediately *facetiae* and *dicacitas* seem treated as synonymous (2.221 'quod est hominibus facetis et dicacibus difficillimum'): the strong likelihood must be that the same is true of T.

quarum apud praepotentes in longum memoria est Since this is a generalisation (as the plur. *praepotentes* shows), *quarum* must here have the sense of *qualium* (it is not the specifically *Tiberian* witticisms which the powerful remember): cf. 6.21.2n. (*interrogatur*) for the interrogative equivalent. A very similar generalisation is produced in the case of Nero (15.68.3 'saepe asperis facetiis inlusus, quae ubi multum ex uero traxere, acrem sui memoriam relinquunt'), and both passages should be compared with Sen. *Clem.* 1.10.3 'contumelias . . . , quae acerbiores principibus solent esse quam iniuriae' (and Braund ad loc.). For the adverbial *in longum* (*TLL* 7.2.1642.81–1643.20) with *esse* cf. 11.20.3 'tenuis fructus nec in longum fuit'. In fact Fufius did not have to wait long for the imperial vengeance: Dio reports that in the following year he was forced to commit suicide and his wife stabbed herself in front of the assembled senators (58.4.5–6 as usually emended [see 6.14.1n. *prodigentia*]), while T. says that his aged mother was killed for having wept at her son's death (6.10.1).

3.1 ex eo 'thereafter' (*OLD ex* 9). For the marking of a stage in a degenerative process compare Hdt. 5.55 μετὰ ταῦτα ἐτυραννεύοντο Ἀθηναῖοι . . . οὐδὲν ἧσσον ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸ τοῦ.

praerupta iam et urgens dominatio *praerupta* (*TLL* 10.2.801.65ff.) combined with *urgens* (*OLD* 6) would normally imply precipitous and looming cliffs (see e.g. Walker 64), yet it is hard to see how there can be an 'escape' (*perfugium*, below) from a static landscape. Perhaps T. is thinking of an overwhelming torrent: *urgere* is not uncommon of masses of water (e.g. Ov. *Met.* 15.181–2 'ut unda inpellitur unda | urgeturque eadem ueniens urgetque priorem') and for *praerupta* cf. Amm. 22.8.40 'praeruptis undarum uerticibus' (see further Brock 120). The image of 'mastery' is sometimes attributed to water by means of the verb: cf. *Agr.* 10.6 'dominari mare', Sen. *NQ* 3.28.7 (alongside fire), *Anth. Lat.* 377.7 'dominantur aquae'.

adhuc neatly suggests that the situation was already grim, even before it now took a decided turn for the worse ('temporal innuendo').

Augusta . . . Tiberio . . . Seianus The combination of names relates to the analysis of Tib.'s principate which T. provides in the emperor's obituary

notice at 6.51.3 (see ad loc.). After the deaths of his two sons, Germanicus and Drusus, in AD 19 and 23 respectively, the *princeps* was left with only two individuals to share the burden of exercising power: Sejanus (1.24.2n.; Champlin (2012) 369) and Livia. It has been argued that these same three individuals are the central figures portrayed in AD 28 on the Grand Camée de France (i.e. just before Livia's death and when Sejanus 'had come into full power as the emperor's plenipotentiary partner') and that the figures of Sejanus and Tiberius may be linked to each other by the personification of Amicitia (see K. K. Jeppesen, 'Grand Camée de France: Sejanus reconsidered and confirmed', *MDAI (RA)* 100 (1993) 141–75).

perfugium Velleius (130.5 'leuatione periculi') and Dio (58.2.3) both refer to her rescuing role but give no examples; in the *Annals* she had succoured Julia, Augustus' granddaughter, during her twenty years of exile (4.71.4) and had intervened successfully at the trials of Urgulania (2.34.2–4: AD 16) and Plancina (3.15.1, 17.1–2: AD 20); for the latter see esp. *SCPP* 113 'pro Plancina rogatu matris suae deprecatus sit', with Eck et al. 224ff. Livia had also intervened in the case of C. Cornelius Cinna Magnus during her husband's principate (Sen. *Clem.* 1.9.6, Dio 55.14ff.); the exiled Ovid asked his wife to intercede with Livia on his behalf (*Ex P.* 3.1.114–66, a most interesting passage). Since *perfugium* is often used of a safe haven (e.g. Cic. *Clu.* 7), the word may sustain the image introduced in the preceding sentence (above).

inueteratum erga matrem obsequium *obsequium* is regularly used of the deference shown towards one's parent(s): cf. 13.1.1 'in matrem'; *TLL* 9.2.181.58–67. This is T.'s version of *SCPP* 118–19 'summae erga matrem suam pietati'. *obsequium*, one of T.'s favourite words (G–G 996b–997b; Vielberg 130–1), can be followed indifferently by *erga* or *in* + acc. (*TLL* 9.2.181.11): thus *in regem* at 6.37.4 below but *erga reges* at *G.* 44.1. *erga* (for T.'s general use of which see 2.2.3n.) recurs at 3.12.2 and *H.* 3.5.1; earlier at Liv. 7.30.19, later at Front. p. 93.21 vdH^2 'obsequia erga patrem'.

auctoritati parentis antire The verb is a favourite of T. (e.g. again at 5.6.3 and 5.10.3 below), but elsewhere he uses it either absolutely or with the acc. (G–G 85a–b); the unique dat. is paralleled, however, in other authors (Plaut. Cic. Gell.) in a variety of meanings which are sometimes hard to differentiate (*TLL* 2.147.62–4, 148.48–55): here the sense is 'place oneself above' (*OLD* 6, paralleling 4.40.5, 14.11.3, *H.* 2.101.1), although there is some anticipation of the *proruperunt* image below (cf. e.g. Amm. 27.6.10 'milites alius alium anteire festinans'). *auctoritas parentis* is a surprisingly rare expr. (Liv. 26.22.15, Val. Max. 5.6 *init.*).

uelut frenis exsoluti proruperunt The verb, which T. uses twice elsewhere of Tib. without any obvious image in mind (4.71.3, 6.51.3), here suggests

animals breaking out of confinement, like Lucretius' horses (2.263–5 'patefactis tempore puncto | carceribus non posse tamen prorumpere equorum | uim cupidam'); but, despite Walker (55 n. 2), the context requires animals more dangerous than horses.[9] Perhaps lions (cf. *Rhet. Herenn.* 4.51 'sicut e cauea leo emissus aut aliqua taeterrima belua soluta ex catenis, uolitabit et uagabitur in foro, acuens dentes . . . in omnes . . . incursitans, . . . aliorum caput oppugnans'): Tib. was referred to as a lion on his death (Jos. *AJ* 18.228 τέθνηκεν ὁ λέων), and for lions as typifying anger and vengefulness see N–H on Hor. *C.* 1.16.15 (and also Brock 89–90, 118). For *frena* used of lions cf. Manil. 5.701 'ille manu uastos poterit frenare leones' (and for an illustration of a wild animal – in this case a tiger – wearing a collar see K. M. Coleman, *Martial: Liber Spectaculorum* (2006) 72, plate 13). *exsoluere* is the *mot juste* for releasing from harness etc. (*OLD* 2a).

Agrippinam ac Neronem For Agrippina see 3.1.1n.; *BNP* 1.394 [Agrippina 2]; Raepsaet-Charlier 634–5 no. 812. For Nero Caesar see 3.29.1n.

adlatas et cohibitas *litteras adferre* is a frequent and technical expression for delivering a letter: it was popularly believed that this letter had been delivered to its immediate recipient(s), perhaps the presiding magistrate(s), but was then prevented by Livia from reaching its ultimate destination, namely, the senate as a whole (as is clear from *recitatae sunt*). That T. considers the belief false, however, seems clear from *missae* above: the letter was sent only after Livia had died.

This chronology conflicts with the account of Suetonius (see also 1.4n. (*Laudata*) above), who places Agrippina's actual banishment before Livia's death (*Cal.* 10.1); scholars try to resolve the discrepancy by hypothesising a two-stage degradation (see Hurley on Suet. loc. cit., Barrett, *Livia* 335–6).

For the usage of *litterae* as against *epistula* see above, 2.1n.

haud enim multum post mortem eius Heinsius emended to *multo*, and it is certainly true that on every other occasion *haud multo post* (the negative varies) is the rule, regardless of whether *post* is the adverb (as is usual in other authors and invariable in T.) or the preposition. The one exception is Cic. *Inv.* 2.15 'copo non multum post conclamat'; and in T. scholars have also compared 12.4.1 'haud multum ante Vitellii nurus fuerat'. Perhaps this slender evidence is sufficient to justify the paradosis.

3.2 rerum nouarum studium is a Sallustian phrase (*C.* 37.1 (part of a well known digression, to which T. again alludes at 6.2 [n. *per*] below), 57.1), repeated at 3.13.2, *H.* 3.12.2.

[9] One assumes that T. is not thinking of Hercules' eighth labour and the man-eating mares of Diomedes (Apollod. 2.5.8 etc.).

amores . . . impudicitiam The adversative asyndeton is emphasised by the double chiasmus with the preceding. *impudicitia* is 'often used of homosexual vice' (*OLD*): hence 'theme and variation' after *amores iuuenum*.

adrogantiam oris et contumacem animum Chiastic in form (but not in meaning), the adj. varying the preceding genitive. The majority view that *oris* means 'mouth' or 'speech' is supported by Servius' point, if correct, that *os* means one's natural features and that it is *uultus* which means one's facial expression at any given moment (*Aen.* 9.249).[10] Thus Seneca writes *quid opus adrogantia uultus, quid tumore uerborum?* (*Ben.* 2.11.6). The description imputed to Agrippina here echoes that given early in Book 4 (12.2–4): 'pudicitia Agrippinae impenetrabili. Igitur contumaciam eius insectari . . . superbam . . . tumidos spiritus perstimulare'. *contumax animus* is Senecan (*Clem.* 1.24.2, *NQ* 3 *praef.* 13); for *contumacia* in T. see Vielberg 172–7.

et publica mala singulis in occasionem gratiae trahuntur 'and public misfortunes are interpreted by individuals as a chance for popularity'; *gratiae* refers to winning favour with the *princeps*, and some scholars understand a gerundive such as *captandae*. For T.'s use of the dat. of the agent after a present passive verb see 2.50.3n.

ut referretur 'that a motion should be put' (*OLD* 7b).

Cotta Messalino M. Aurelius Cotta Maximus Messalinus, the consul of 20 and 'no favourite of T.'s' (2.32.1n.).

atroci sententia is Livian (2.30.1, 35.1, 54.7); again at 6.2.1, *H.* 3.37.1.

3.3 aliis a primoribus *aliis* underlines the contrast with Messalinus (see above, 1.3n. *Sanctitate*). For the choice noun see Malloch on 11.23.1.

***in*fense *in*uectus** The adv. recurs at 4.48.3 and 11.16.3 (both compar.), whereas T. had preferred the much commoner synonym *infeste* in *H.* (1.65.1, 4.28.1, 5.18.1; all compar.); the change is in keeping with his increasing preference for *infensus* over *infestus* (3.15.2n.; *TLL* 7.1.1406.47). *inuehor* is regularly modified by an adv. expressing some form of hostility (*H.* 3.4.1; *TLL* 7.2.132 *passim*), and indeed expressions of hostility are often mildly pleonastic: see e.g. Oakley on Liv. 9.38.1; also *TLL* 7.1.1410.45ff., K–S 2.575.

cetera ambigua reliquerat presumably refers to the measures to be taken; the ambiguity is of course characteristic of Tiberius (see esp. 1.11.2). Agrippina was subsequently relegated to the island of Pandateria (Suet. *Tib.* 53.2), where

[10] For some etymological theories see G. L. Cohen, 'Latin voltus/vultus = face, expression (on Face)', *Latomus* 38 (1979) 337–44.

on 18 October 33 she died, or was killed, by starvation (6.25); Nero Caesar was relegated to the island of Pontia, where he was eventually forced to kill himself (Suet. *Tib.* 54.2, cf. Dio 58.8.4).

4.1 Fuit in senatu Iunius Rusticus 'Beginnings of this kind are no doubt as old as the art of narrative itself' (Kenney on Apul. *Met.* 4.28.1 'erant in quadam ciuitate rex et regina', with parallels from Hdt. 1.6.1 on). T. is very partial to such formulations but tends to deploy them *within* an episode, as here (see e.g. 1.16.3, 2.62.2, 6.50.2, 12.44.3, 12.49.1, 13.45.1, 15.51.2); there is much similarity to the so-called '*est locus* formula' (for which see e.g. Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 3.28–49), and in each case the main narrative is continued by a resumptive pronoun (in T. it is almost always *is*, which appears below). See further Oakley on Liv. 7.26.2.

For Rusticus see *RE* 10.1083 = Iunius 147 (Riba), *PIR* 4.345 no. 813, *BNP* 6.1102 [Iunius II 27]; the famous Q. Iunius Arulenus Rusticus (16.26.4–5, *Agr.* 2.1, 45.1) was probably a son or grandson.

componendis patrum actis Although the term *acta senatus* is frequently used by scholars to refer to the written record of senatorial proceedings, in Latin literature its occurrence is not common and its meaning not uniform. The term first occurs in Val. Max., where it clearly refers to the senatorial proceedings themselves (5.1.1a 'senatus acta referam', 7.2.6a); its only other appearance is in Suetonius: twice it refers to the written record of the proceedings (*Aug.* 5.1 'ut senatus actis continetur', *Tib.* 73.1 'cum in actis senatus legisset dimissos ac ne auditos quidem quosdam reos'); on two other occasions it is not absolutely clear whether reference is to the proceedings or to the written record thereof (*DJ* 20.1 'primus omnium instituit ut tam senatus quam populi diurna acta confierent et publicarentur', *Aug.* 36.1 'ne acta senatus publicarentur'). In inscriptions, on the other hand, the term is common from the time of Trajan onwards: L. Neratius Marcellus (cos. 95, 129) is described as 'curator actorum senatus' (*ILS* 1032), and most subsequent holders of this post are given the title 'ab actis senatus' (see the convenient list in Talbert 334–7). It is assumed that Junius Rusticus was an early, if not actually the first, holder of the post and that *patrum actis* (like *commentariis senatus* at 15.74.3) is a typically Tacitean variant on a technical term (for his use of *patres* instead of *senatus* see 3.10.2n.). It is not clear whether *componendis* refers to organising or writing or both. For discussion of the *acta* see Talbert 308–23.

eoque . . . creditus Tib.'s retirement from Rome did not prevent him from reading the *acta* (cf. Suet. *Tib.* 73.1, quoted last n.). It was clearly open to him to emend the text as he saw fit, before sending the final version back to Rusticus: since the latter would then have been able to compare the original with the Tiberian version, he could to that extent be said to have an insight into the *princeps*' thoughts.

fatali quodam motu 'by some fateful prompting' (*OLD motus* 11a).

dum . . . incerta pauet *dum* is causal ('inasmuch as he feared . . . '), as often (3.19.2n.). For *incerta pauet* cf. Stat. *Theb.* 4.408. The substantival use of *imminentia* (again at 5.9.1, 6.22.2, 15.9.2, 15.62.2) seems first to occur in the *Laudatio Turiae* (2.5): see *TLL* 7.1.459.43–4; also 6.48.2n.

breuibus momentis summa uerti Since each of these words has several different meanings, the sense of the whole is not at all clear: T. could mean 'the highest matters hinged on small movements', for example, or 'the highest matters were overturned within brief moments' or some variant of either of these; a similar problem arises at Cic. *Phil.* 5.26 'minimis momentis . . . maximae inclinationes temporum fiunt'. Nevertheless *quandoque* below ('at any time') suggests that T. is thinking in temporal terms and hence that *momentum* is being used absolutely = 'a moment', 'an instant' (as *D.* 6.1; *OLD* 5b); for the combination with *breuis* cf. Plin. *NH* 2.61, 23.132, [Quint.] *Decl.* 316.9 (all singular, however). The meaning will therefore resemble Liv. 3.27.7 'puncto saepe temporis maximarum rerum momenta uerti', 'the decisive moments of the greatest affairs often change in an instant of time'.

breuis and *leuis* are quite frequently interchanged in MSS, *leue momentum* (or plur.) is an extremely common expression (esp. in Livy), and *leuibus* had occurred to Ernesti long before Drexler; but Ernesti rejected the change on the ground that T. is thinking of time. Since *breuis* can be used of size (*OLD* 3a), however, the emendation is unnecessary even if *momentis* is thought to refer to movements or influences.

posse quandoque †germanicis titium paenitentiae senis† The transmitted text is beyond certain emendation. (a) Some scholars emend *germanicis titium*, understand *paenitentiae* as a predicative dative (otherwise unexampled: see *TLL* 10.1.55.57–8), supply *esse*, and emend *senis* to *seni*. Thus Ruperti suggested *Germanici exitium paenitentiae seni <esse>*, which Walther improved by preferring *<esse> seni*, arguing that *esse* could more easily have dropped out between *–ae* and *se–* and that the final letter of *senis* was a mistaken anticipation of *simul*. But it must be extremely doubtful whether Rusticus would be so rash as to imply that Tib. had been responsible for his adopted son's death. Fuchs retained Walther's improvement but proposed *Germanici sti<rpis exi>tium*, comparing 'Germanici stirpem' at 3.29.3 and 4.59.3; but in those passages only Nero was in question, whereas here the attack is directed also at his mother, a point which *stirpis* would preclude. (b) Numerous scholars have suggested a more substantial lacuna, some of them (e.g. Lipsius, Ernesti, Madvig) proposing that it include a form of the phrase *dare spatium* to explain *paenitentiae*. The version suggested by Prof. Powell by way of example

is *posse quandoque Germanici fa<miliam in gratiam redire, si daretur spa>tium paenitentiae seni*.[11] Yet all such suggestions are inevitably too speculative to place in the text.

4.2 populus effigies . . . gerens T. quite frequently refers to 'the people' (*plebs*, *populus* or *uulgus*);[12] the popular affection for Germanicus' father (1.33.2, 2.41.3, 6.51.1) was inherited by Germanicus himself (see esp. 2.82.4–5, 3.1.1–6.3 and nn.), whose own popularity was passed on to members of his family (e.g. 3.4.2, 3.29.3, 4.12.1, 4.15.3 [n.], 6.46.1). For the political significance of such gestures as these see e.g. A. P. Gregory, '"Powerful images": responses to portraits and the political uses of images in Rome', *JRA* 7 (1994) 80–99, esp. 90, A. Rouveret, 'Tacite et les monuments', *ANRW* 2.33.4 (1991) 3090ff. The latter concludes that T. 'a concentré sur le règne de Tibère un ensemble d'anecdotes relatives aux statues et aux portraits' (3094), although such passages are naturally not restricted to *Annals* 1–6: compare the popular reaction to Octavia in 62 (14.61.1 'imagines gestant umeris, spargunt floribus foroque ac templis statuunt').

faustisque . . . ominibus Muretus' emendation is certain: *festus* + *omen* is unparalleled, whereas *faustus* is extremely common at all periods in both prose and (esp.) verse and recurs in T. at 1.35.3 'faustis in Germanicum ominibus'.

principe inuito The implication is that Sejanus was thought by the *populus* to be acting independently of Tib.: hence both the resentment shown towards him at 3 below and his careful deployment of the *princeps*' name when he responds at 4 below. The development of the drama is meticulously described.

clamitat See 3.4.1n.

4.3 ferebantur 'were being spread abroad', 'were cited' (*OLD* 34a).

exercentibus . . . libidinem The hostility described here explains why Velleius was impelled to insert into his history a defence of Tib.'s treatment of Sejanus (2.127–8 and nn., pp. 245–63); the defence may even have been written in 29, since Livia's death follows shortly afterwards in the narrative and is the last event mentioned (130.5). For *exercere libidinem* cf. Liv. 29.17.13, Sen. *Ep.* 99.13, Suet. *Nero* 26.1; for *per occultum* (again at 4.42.2, 6.7.3) cf. Sen. *Ben.* 4.23.4, *NQ* 2.6.5, 7.13.1, Sil. 14.14.

[11] In the MS the letters before the proposed lacuna could be taken to be *–f a–* rather than *–s ti–* (and in my translation I had proposed *Germanici fatum* for *germanicis titium*).

[12] For some bibliography see H. G. Seiler, *Die Masse bei Tacitus* (1936), Z. Yavetz, *Plebs and Princeps* (1969) 17, 141–55, R. F. Newbold, 'The vulgus in Tacitus', *RhM* 119 (1976) 85–92, P. Hardie, 'Crowds and leaders in imperial historiography and in epic', in J. F. Miller and A. J. Woodman (edd.), *Latin historiography and poetry in the early empire: generic interactions* (2010) 9–27.

atque eo procacius In cases such as this the adv. *eo* often seems to combine the meanings 'therefore' and 'all the more'.

4.4 materies criminandi Cf. Liv. 3.31.4 'materiam criminandi' (on T.'s preference for *materies* in the *Annals* see 1.32.1n.). *illi* above is Sejanus.

dolorem The *princeps*' alleged pain or indignation at Agrippina's and Nero's conduct, to which the senate had made an inappropriate response.

audiri . . . consulta *audiri* refers to *contiones* (here = 'speeches': cf. G–G 220b), *legi* to *patrum consulta*: this is therefore an example of the misleadingly labelled 'double zeugma', of which T. is fond, 'whereby in related pairs of terms each member of the succeeding pair corresponds only to one member of the pair preceding' (1.55.1n., with further exs.). The repeated forms of *nouus* combine the notions of 'new', 'strange' and 'revolutionary'.

quorum imagines pro uexillis forent In the Roman army an image of the emperor would be carried by the *imaginifer*, a type of standard-bearer who is illustrated on Trajan's Column (scenes 32 and 103): the point therefore is that this official mark of respect was being perverted by alleged revolutionaries; and, since *imagines* looks back to *effigies Agrippinae ac Neronis* at 2 above in a typical *uariatio* (Sörbom 19), *quorum* presumably refers to the same pair. Cf. *H.* 1.41.1 'uexillarius . . . dereptam Galbae imaginem solo adflixit: eo signo manifesta in Othonem militum studia' (and Damon's n.); also *H.* 3.13.1, 3.31.2 (and Wellesley's n.), 4.62.2.

duces imperatoresque Agrippina had acted as a leader before (1.69.1 'femina . . . munia ducis per eos dies induit', 4 'nihil relictum imperatoribus ubi femina manipulos interuisat, signa adeat').

5 aduersum For T.'s preference for this archaising form over the 'Ciceronian' *aduersus* see 3.14.1n.

unius senatoris Rusticus.

imperatoria maiestas See *Ann.* 3, Index 3, p. 512 s.v. 'Tiberius, aloof and concerned about his *maiestas*'; also W. on Vell. 99.4, 124.1. For *imperatoria* see 1.46.2, Liv. 7.14.2, Sen. *Contr.* 9.1.8, Amm. 16.8.1, 30.7.4, *HA Hadr.* 8.1.

integra . . . cuncta postulauit *integra* = 'undecided' (*OLD* 2a); for *cuncta* see 3.18.4n., Malloch on 11.9.2.

quominus non quidem extrema decernerent *quominus* is used because of the notion of prevention latent in *nec ultra deliberatum* ('there was no further debate to prevent them from . . . '). *extrema* presumably alludes

to *extremum supplicium* (6.38.4, Cic. *Verr.* 5.169, *Pis.* 99, Gell. 10.3.7, Apul. *Met.* 6.2.2).

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The lacuna which follows in our text means that we have lost T.'s account of most of the next three years, including the fall of Sejanus in October of AD 31 and his execution on the 18th of that month (EJ p. 42); the text resumes with only a few paragraphs of that year remaining (5.6.1–5.11.2).[13] For the intervening events see Seager 177–85. What Sejanus' ultimate political goals were – and in particular whether he was plotting to overthrow the *princeps*, as T. among others seems to have believed (4.1.1 'dominationem raptum', 4.1.3 'parando regno'; cf. Jos. *AJ* 18.179–82, Suet. *Tib.* 65.1 'res nouas molientem') – are matters of controversy: see esp. the discussion by Birley, including a most helpful survey of scholarly opinion, and also Champlin (2012).

6–11 THE YEAR AD 31

6–9 Domestic affairs

6.1 Quattuor . . . censui Our text continues with these two incomplete sentences; the first breaks off before the end (*adsuetudine . . .*), the second evidently starts mid-way through (*. . . mihi*): clearly a further lacuna of indeterminate length intervenes between the two, although there is no indication of it in M. That the second sentence is part of a speech is shown by the pronoun and verb (*mihi . . . censui*); and, although the first sentence is usually assumed to be part of an authorial summation from T., this is not necessarily the case: *quattuor et quadraginta orationes . . . adsuetudine* could equally well be *oratio recta*, perhaps constituting a foil for what the speaker himself is about to say. We simply do not know.

ob metum paucae, plures adsuetudine For a *uariatio* similar to this chiasmus see *H.* 2.5.2 'quem Ti. Caesar ob metum, Vitellius Cluuium nulla formidine retinebat' (Sörbom 85). For T.'s use of *ob* see 3.5.2n.

6.2 mihi . . . censui The identity of the speaker is unknown. *pudor* and *inuidia* are only very occasionally juxtaposed (e.g. Ov. *Tr.* 5.8.23–4 'utque pudore | non caret, inuidia sic mea culpa caret'), and this passage is not mentioned in Kaster's discussion of their relationship (92–103). *inuidiam adferre* seems to be Ciceronian (*Deiot.* 34, *Sull.* 81, *Clu.* 160) before T. (again at *H.* 1.7.2) and [Quint.] *Decl.* 3.18; for *pudorem* cf. Caes. *BC* 1.67.4, Ov. *AA* 2.313, *Tr.* 3.6.31.

Versa est fortuna Perhaps scarcely more than a formula (see e.g. H. on *H.* 2.54.1); but perhaps – and more tellingly – a reference to a well known

[13] See the Introduction (above, pp. 3–9).

event (cf. Juv. 10.74–5): Sejanus' personal statue of Fortuna, a goddess whom he cultivated (Syme, *RP* 1.305–14; A. D. Heinrichs, *Sejan und das Schicksal Roms in den Annalen des Tacitus* (1976) 174ff.; Champlin (2012) 382ff.), turned its back on him before his fall (Dio 58.7.2–3 Τύχης τέ τι ἄγαλμα, ὃ . . . οἵκοι τε εἶχε . . . , αὐτός τε θύων εἶδεν ἀποστρεφόμενον).

ille quidem, qui collegam et generum adsciuerat *collegam* presumably refers primarily to Sejanus' joint consulship with the *princeps* earlier in the year rather than to his long-standing position as *socius laborum* (4.2.3; see 6.51.3n.) or to the alleged promise of *tribunicia potestas* later in 31 (Dio 58.6.2 συνάρχοντα, 9.2–4): cf. 6.8.3 'tuum, Caesar, generum, tui consulatus socium' (Terentius' defence speech). The joint consulship was a great honour: Suetonius notes (*Tib.* 26.2) that Tib. was consul 'no more than three times' during his principate (first with Germanicus in 18, secondly with his son Drusus in 21).

Since Dio refers to Sejanus as merely 'betrothed' (58.7.5; cf. Suet. *Tib.* 65.1 'spe adfinitatis . . . deceptum'), scholars have been uncertain whether Sejanus did in fact marry into the imperial family, and hence whether or not *gener* here and at 6.8.3 is being used proleptically. Uncertainty has also surrounded the lady in question, whether Drusus' widow Livi(ll)a, for whose hand Sejanus had asked in vain in 25 (4.39–40), or her daughter Julia (in which case *gener* is being used for *progener*). The majority opinion in favour of Livi(ll)a has been strongly supported by Bellemore: she has pointed out that in the *Fasti Ostienses* for 26 October 31 the traditional restoration of Apicata's name as Sejanus' wife (as found e.g. in EJ p. 42) is unlikely for chronological reasons and that a more plausible text is *VII k. No*[*u. Liuia*] *Seiani se occidi*[*t.* If this is correct, as Birley believes (141), then Sejanus was indeed married, and to Livi(ll)a. See further 6.2.1n. (*quasi*).

For contrasting *quidem* without a subsequent adversative conjunction (at *ceteri* below) see Solodow 67–74.

per dedecora This expr., as opposed to the sing. *per dedecus* (see e.g. H. on *H.* 1.4.3), otherwise occurs only at Sall. *C.* 37.5 'per dedecora patrimoniis amissis', which favours the notion that the disgraceful actions are those of Sejanus' supporters rather than of the man himself (*contra* Martin). This is T.'s second allusion to Sallust's digression (above, 3.2n. *rerum*).

cum scelere insectantur Verbally (*OLD* 2), as 5.7.2 below, since Sejanus was now beyond any actual pursuit, legal or otherwise. *cum scelere* = 'criminally' (Cic. *Div. Caec.* 60, *Off.* 1.40, Liv. 23.9.5, Sen. *Phoen.* 624); for the *uariatio* with *per* above see 2.38.4 (Sörbom 47); for the antithesis with *dedecora* see 6.51.3, Plaut. *Stich.* 72, Cic. *Har. Resp.* 27, *Pis.* 32, *Clu.* 12, Liv. 5.53.7.

ob *amic*itiam *accusari an amic*um *accusare* 'In the corrupt Rome of the Principate, loyalty to friends might bring a man to destruction: the dangers of friendship constitute a recurring theme' (R. Seager, '*Amicitia* in Tacitus and Juvenal', *AJAH* 2 (1977) 43, with abundant evidence). As illustrated in works by Aristotle and Cicero among others, the ethics and practicalities of friendship were much debated in antiquity (see e.g. D. Konstan, *Friendship in the classical world* (1997)), yet at the same time we should remember that at Rome the language of friendship was often (although not always) indistinguishable from that of patronage (in general see R. P. Saller, *Personal patronage under the early empire* (1982) 11–15). Thus Sejanus was the *amicus* of the *princeps* (cf. 4.59.1), a friendship celebrated by the senate when in 28 they voted for an *ara amicitiae* surrounded by images of Tib. and Sejanus (4.74.2; see also above, 3.1n. *Augusta*; Birley 137–8, Champlin (2012) 371–2); and his eventual fall was seen in terms of the violation of that friendship (Val. Max. 9.11 *ext.* 4 'amicitiae fide exstincta . . . uiolatis amicitiae foederibus'). Similarly, at a lower level, Sejanus had his own friends, who were also his clients: cf. 4.34.1 'Seiani clientes', Sen. *Cons. Marc.* 22.4 'Seianus patrem tuum clienti suo Satrio Secundo congiarium dedit' (a terrifying passage), Suet. *Cal.* 30.2. Friendship with Sejanus recurs as a theme in the following book (6.14.1, 29.3), nowhere more eloquently than in the speech with which M. Terentius defends himself (6.8.1 'fatebor et fuisse me Seiano amicum et ut essem expetisse et, postquam adeptus eram, laetatum'), and still lingers in the reign of Nero (13.45.1); cf. also 8.1 and 6.30.2–4 below and Sen. *Ep.* 55.3 'aliquos . . . Seiani odium, deinde amor merserat (aeque enim offendisse illum quam amasse periculosum fuit)'.

6.3 Non . . . experiar *cuiusquam* is an oblique (and perhaps rather dismissive) reference to the *princeps*, since the speaker is rejecting one of the cardinal virtues of the reign: *clementia* featured on Tiberian coinage, and an *ara clementiae* was voted by the senate in 28 at the same time as the *ara amicitiae* (4.74.2: last n.): see 3.68.2n.

It is typical of T. to combine a common phrase (*clementiam experiri*) with an uncommon (*crudelitatem experiri* is unparalleled, unless one counts [Quint.] *Decl.* 13.1 'expertae crudelitatis'); see also *multa foedaque* at 5.7.2 (n.) below.

liber et mihi ipsi probatus The terms hint at Stoic beliefs about the wise man, that only he is free and has the power of self-determination (αὐτο πραγία): see Diog. Laer. 7.121 = *SVF* 3.86 no. 355 (and further below, n. *qui*). The phrase is perhaps also chiastic with the preceding: *liber* contrasts with *clementiam*, since a recipient of the latter is literally 'at the mercy' of someone else (e.g. Sen. *Clem.* 2.7.3 'clementia liberum arbitrium habet'); since *probatus* suggests a legal procedure (cf. *TLL* 10.2.1462.42ff.), self-judgement is contrasted with the *crudelitas* to be expected from the verdict of a Tiberian court.

per maerorem quam laeti For T.'s frequent ellipse of *potius* or *magis* see 1.4.4n., 3.8.1n.; for the (very common) *uariatio* of prep. phrase ~ adj. see Sörbom 92–3.

adiciendo The verb is used of adding to a class or category (*OLD* 9c); again at 12.10.1.

qui . . . effugerunt The Stoics believed that suicide was justifiable if one was being compelled to act disgracefully (*SVF* 3.191 no. 768 πράττειν αἰσχρά), in this case accusing one's friend; *effugere* is a regular term for suicide in Seneca (e.g. *Ep.* 70.6 'bene autem mori est effugere male uiuendi periculum'), for whom a prohibition on suicide was shutting off the road to freedom (*Ep.* 70.14 'libertatis uiam cludere'). For T.'s attitude to suicide see esp. 16.16, *Agr.* 42.4. In general see – in addition to Grisé and van Hooff – M. T. Griffin, 'Philosophy, Cato and Roman suicide I', *G&R* 33 (1986) 64–77, esp. 74–5; Plass, *GDAR*; T. D. Hill, *Ambitiosa mors: suicide and self in Roman thought and literature* (2004).

7.1 Tunc singulos, ut cuique absistere, adloqui animus erat, retinens aut dimittens partem diei absumpsit Since there is nothing to indicate a change of scene at this point, it is almost certain that the speaker delivered the above speech in his house, presumably in his *cubiculum*, the conventional place for suicide (3.15.3, 15.63.3, 15.69.2, 16.11.2, 16.35.1): see A. M. Riggsby, '"Public" and "private" in Roman culture: the case of the *cubiculum*', *JRA* 10 (1997) 36–56, esp. 39.

There are two objections to the transmitted *adsistere*. (a) The distributive expression *ut cuique . . . animus erat* suggests a divergence of behaviour, whereas there is little essential difference between *adsistere* and *adloqui*, which both refer to dutiful attendance. (b) It is nonsense to say that the man spent the day 'dismissing individuals according as each wanted to attend and address him'; those editors (the majority) who retain *adsistere* are obliged to understand *aut non erat* after *animus erat*, a clunking ellipse which seems quite unTacitean and highly implausible. Pfitzner's simple change to *absistere*, on the other hand, not only avoids each of these difficulties but generates a chiastic 'double zeugma' (cf. 4.4n., above) which more or less constitutes confirmation of the change (*absistere* ~ *dimittens*, *adloqui* ~ *retinens*); the same mistake (a common type of corruption) occurs at 2.31.2, as Pfitzner points out, while *adsumpsit* has been wrongly written for *absumpsit* immediately below.[14]

T. employs *asyndeton bimembre* 'in highly-wrought scenes' and, in its alliterative form, more often with verbs than with nouns: see Malloch's full n. on 11.16.2. For the present part. after *absumo* see Liv. 32.10.1 (*TLL* 1.220.57–9).

[14] Pfitzner's emendation (*AT* 1.43) was accepted by Draeger but removed from the later editions of the latter's work; it is not even mentioned by Fisher, Lenchantin, Fuchs, Koestermann, Heubner or Borzsák.

intrepidum uultum 'Ancient writers regularly externalized emotional states, describing someone's state of mind in terms of their facial expression', says Oakley (on Liv. 9.5.8), quoting many exs. involving *uultus* (on which see also above, 3.2n.); certainly T. 'uses *uultus* with remarkable frequency' (2.57.2n., with numerous parallels). For *intrepidus* cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.478 'pertulit intrepidos ad fata nouissima uultus', Sil. 11.230, Apul. *Met.* 9.23.3.

cum . . . crederent 'when/although they believed time still remained for his final words': *nouissima uerba* is so standard an expr. in death scenes and the like (e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 4.650) that despite Ov. *Met.* 13.478 (last n.) it seems impossible to understand any other noun here. Drama is an inherent quality of many suicide narratives; the surprise element here is that the speaker takes his interlocutors by surprise.

7.2 criminibus aut probris Cf. Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 48, Liv. 45.37.6, Sen. *Oed.* 87. *criminibus insectari* (again at 6.40.3) is Ciceronian (*Deiot.* 30); for *probris* cf. Flor. 2.15.2.

cum in Blaesum multa foedaque incusauisset *multa* as an internal acc. after *incusare* is also at Ter. *Phorm.* 914 and Virg. *Aen.* 11.471 (*multum* at Liv. 39.13.4), but the addition of a word like *foeda* seems unique (cf. 6.3n. *Non* above), as is the constr. with *in* + acc. (*TLL* 7.1.1099.42–4). Q. Iunius Blaesus (3.35.1n.) had been suffect consul in AD 10 and was Sejanus' uncle.

8.1 P. Vitellio See 1.70.1n., 3.10.1n.; Rüpke 959–60 no. 3552.

Pomponio Secundo [P. Calv?]isius Sabinus Pomponius Secundus was a friend of the elder Pliny, who wrote a two-volume biography of him (Plin. *NH* 14.56, Plin. *Ep.* 3.5.3), and a tragic poet (*ingenio inlustri* at 2 below; cf. 11.13.1 [and Malloch's n.], 12.28.2, *D.* 13.3, Quint. 10.1.98). Champlin (2012: 377) sees him as belonging to 'the cluster of literary men around Sejanus' and identical with the Pomponius mentioned by Terentius in his speech at 6.8.5 (n. *etiam*). On the basis of Plin. *NH* 7.39 his mother has been thought to be the much married Vistilia (Syme, *RP* 2.811–14), but for doubts see C. Bruun, 'Pliny, pregnancies, and prosopography: Vistilia and her seven children', *Latomus* 69 (2010) 758–77. For him see *RE* 21.2356–60 = Pomponius 103 (Hanslik), Suppl. 14.443 (Eck), *PIR* 6.331–3 no. 754, *BNP* 11.584–5 [Pomponius III 8]; Birley 139–41. See further nn. below.

Illum . . . huic . . . The two victims' stories are the converse of each other. We are not told who Vitellius' prosecutor was, although a charge of treason

can be inferred from the informers' allegations;[15] that Pomponius was prosecuted by Considius seems clearly implied, although we are not told what the formal charge was. That both victims were indicted is to be inferred from *periclitantibus* (2 below), but the subsequent delays to which both were subjected ('crebris prolationibus') go unexplained. The whole episode is characteristically elliptical, though illustrating the coincidence that both had brave and helpful brothers (2n. *fratrum*): see further C. J. Bannon, *Brothers of Romulus: fraternal pietas in Roman law, literature, and society* (1997) 175–6.

claustra aerarii For the *aerarium militare* see M. Corbier, *L'aerarium Saturni et l'aerarium militare* (1974).

Considio 'Is the senator Considius, enemy of the dramatist in 31, the same person as Considius Proculus, executed two years later . . . ?' (Syme, *RP* 4.238, with reference to 6.18.1). Syme is inclined to answer in the affirmative; Groag's suggestion (*PIR* 2.303 no. 1278) that the present Considius is the praetor L. Considius Gallus, subject of *CIL* 6.31705, is accepted by Rüpke 629 no. 1290. See further 6.18.1n.

Aelii Galli The nineteenth-century belief that this man is identical with Strabo, Sejanus' eldest son (9.1n., below), was revived by G. V. Sumner ('The family connections of L. Aelius Seianus', *Phoenix* 19 (1965) 140–1) and accepted by Syme (*AA* 308) and seemingly also by Birley (126). If that is correct, his full name will have been L. Aelius Gallus Strabo, taking his names from his grandfather by adoption, namely Aelius Gallus, the second prefect of Egypt, or a brother thereof. See also Champlin (2012) 369 and nn. For *amicitia* see 6.2n. (*ob*) above.

fidissimum ad subsidium The image is that of a harbour or haven (cf. 4.67.2 'uix modicis nauigiis pauca subsidia', Sil. 14.202 'subsidium infidum fugientibus aequora'), the language Livian (27.5.5); for the word order see 1.3n. (*Sanctitate*).

8.2 periclitantibus 'the defendants' (as 3.25.2, 6.16.3), a substantival usage first in the elder Seneca and Val. Max. (*TLL* 10.1.1448.41–54); but the term, being appropriate to those endangered by a storm (Sen. *NQ* 1.1.13 'in magna tempestate . . . periclitantes'), also sustains the harbour image above.

fratrum constantia P. Vitellius had three brothers: Aulus (*cos. suff.* 32), Lucius (*cos. ord.* 34, 43 and 47, and father of the future emperor), and Quintus, who had been expelled from the senate in 17 (2.48.3n.). Pomponius' brother was Q. Pomponius (6.18.1n.). For some other helpful brothers see 3.22.1n.

[15] *delatores* is the term for 'practising prosecutors' (J. G. F. Powell, 'Juvenal and the *delatores*', in *AHC* 235–6); they are to be distinguished from informers (*indices*).

spem ac metum iuxta grauatus cannot mean 'weighed down between hope and fear' (Martin) because *iuxta* does not mean 'between'. Since *grauari* can take an acc. (as 3.59.4; cf. *TLL* 6.2.2314.17ff.), the likeliest interpretation is that *iuxta* is adverbial ('burdened by hope and fear alike' or even 'rejecting hope and fear alike'), which makes excellent sense of what follows (*petito . . . scalpro*). If it were the case that *iuxta* + acc. could have the rare meaning 'in proportion to' (so *OLD* 7), the phrase might be equivalent to 'burdened according to whether he was hopeful or afraid'; but in fact the meaning 'because of' is preferred in the alleged pre-Tacitean exs. (Liv. 39.9.6 [see Briscoe's n.] and Vitr. 1.1.8): see *TLL* 7.2.752.32–5.

scalpro Suetonius specifies a *scalprum librarium*, a copyist's knife which was used for sharpening reed pens or making erasures (*Vit.* 2.3).

uitamque aegritudine animi finiuit According to Suetonius, Vitellius allowed his initial wound to be bandaged up but he then died of some illness (*Vit.* 2.3 'nec tam mortis paenitentia quam suorum obtestatione obligari curarique se passus in eadem custodia morbo periit'). Cf. also 6.9.2n. (*cum*).

morum elegantia is a Senecan expr. (*Cons. Marc.* 8.3 'quanto magis hoc morum tuorum elegantiae conuenit, finem luctus potius facere quam expectare'), repeated also at *H.* 3.39.2.

dum aduersam fortunam aequus tolerat, Tiberio superstes fuit Dio under 37 reports that on Tib.'s death Caligula released various prisoners including one Q. Pomponius, who for seven years had been kept in custody and maltreated (59.6.2 ἔπειτα τοὺς ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ ὄντας ἀπέλυσεν, ὧν εἷς ἦν Κύιντος Πομπώνιος ἑπτὰ ὅλοις ἔτεσιν ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι μεθ' ὑπατείαν κακωθείς); scholars assume that Dio has confused the two brothers and that the reference is to P. Pomponius (see e.g. Syme, *RP* 2.811; *PIR* 6.332). The latter rose to be suffect consul in 44[16] and subsequently was decorated in 50 for his actions as *legatus* in Germany (12.27.2–28.2). It has been suggested that, in using the terms *aduersam fortunam aequus tolerat*, T. intended his readers to recognise Pomponius as an Epicurean (P. M. Swan, 'A consular Epicurean under the early principate', *Phoenix* 30 (1976) 54–60, who identifies Pomponius with the Epicurean senator mentioned by Jos. *AJ* 19.32). For *tolerare* see 3.1.1n.

9.1 Placitum . . . ut in reliquos Seiani liberos aduerteretur The simple verb instead of the compound *animaduertere* seems unique to T. in the sense 'to punish' (2.32.3n.). It is known from the *Fasti Ostienses* that Sejanus' son Strabo (8.1n. *Aelii*, above) was strangled on 24 October and that Capito Aelianus, his other son, and Junilla, his daughter, were likewise executed at

[16] Dio's reference to a pre-incarceration consulship is assumed to be a further mistake.

some point within the next seven weeks (EJ p. 42; Birley 142); *reliquos* indicates that the execution of Strabo was mentioned by T. in the section of narrative which is now lost. For Sejanus' family connections see Syme, *AA* 300–12 and App. XXIII. For *placere* of decisions by the senate see *OLD* 5b.

quamquam in anastrophe (again at 14.21.4 and perhaps 6.30.4 [n. *Haec*]) occurs very occasionally in Cicero (e.g. *Acad.* 2.74 'minus bonis quamquam uersibus sed tamen illi uersibus'), and twice in Virgil (*G.* 1.469, *Aen.* 6.394) and the elder Pliny (*NH* 15.43, 22.15).[17] For the following abl. abs. see 3.20.2n.

per priora supplicia Plural because presumably including Sejanus himself.

imminentium . . . puella . . . nescia Cf. Diod. 20.72.2 τῆς ἐπιφερομένης αὐτοῖς συμφορᾶς οὐδεμίαν αἴσθησιν λαμβάνοντας (of babes in arms). The pathos of the scene has already been introduced by *portantur* above: the children are so young that they have to be carried to their execution. For *imminentium* see 5.4.1n. (*dum*).

uerbere moneri The verb must mean 'be punished' (G–G 860a) and be equivalent to *admoneri* (cf. e.g. Sen. *Clem.* 1.14.1 'liberos . . . admonere etiam uerberibus'), but this sense is not recognised in *OLD* or *TLL* (cf. 8.1407.59), though it is in L&S ('only in Tacitus'). T. of course often prefers simple to compound verbs, and indeed prefers *monere* to *admonere* by 58:24 (*TLL*). The sing. *uerbere* (again at 6.24.3, *G.* 19.1) is predominantly domiciled in verse, where it is common, but exceptions are Sen. *Const. Sap.* 12.3, *Ep.* 57.8, Plin. *NH* 2.33.

9.2 Tradunt temporis eius auctores Appeals to contemporary writers (for which see Marincola 281–2) are a natural recourse when one's subject matter is likely to induce disbelief; and the very fact of their deployment increases the sense of outrage at what is being described (so too *tradunt plerique eorum temporum scriptores* at 13.17.2 introduces Nero's sexual molestation of Britannicus). The episode (also at Dio 58.11.5), which has become generalised in Suetonius (*Tib.* 61.5 'immaturae puellae, quia more tradito nefas esset uirgines strangulari, uitiatae prius a carnifice, dein strangulatae'), is reminiscent of the legal grotesqueries involving both rape and execution which are found in declamatory texts (Plass, *WWH* 101–2). See also Birley 141–2.

quia . . . habebatur The clause is part of what the sources record (for the indic. see 1.10.2n.). The *tresuiri capitales* were 'a commission of three . . . responsible for prisons and executions' (*OLD* 1a): it was one of the four commissions comprising the vigintivirate, membership of which represented one of the first steps in a senatorial career (Birley, *RGB* 3–4). See further Oakley on Liv. 9.46.3 with refs.

[17] Juv. 7.15 is usually regarded as spurious.

a carnifice . . . compressam The executioner was regarded as so polluted a figure that he was forbidden by *censoriae leges* to reside within the city (Cic. *Rab. Perd.* 15): see J. Bodel, 'Dealing with the dead: undertakers, executioners and potter's fields in ancient Rome', in Hope and Marshall 144–8. *comprimere* 'is the standard word for the indiscretions committed by the *adulescentes* in comedy', and it 'continued to be used in polite genres, both prose and verse' (Adams, *LSV* 182, cf. 219, 224). For the anastrophe of *iuxta* see Malloch on 11.2.1.

oblisis faucibus . . . in Gemonias abiecta The former phrase (again at Apul. *Met.* 4.12.2) is more vivid than the blunt 'strang.', used in the *Fasti Ostienses* to describe the fates of Sejanus and Strabo, just as the latter phrase is more vivid than '[in Gem.] iacuerunt', used of the daughter and second son (EJ p. 42). Val. Max. records his satisfaction at the elimination of Sejanus' entire family (9.11 *ext.* 4 'omni cum stirpe sua'). For *exim* see 3.13.1n.

id aetatis corpora 'bodies of that age/at that time of life'. Oakley on Liv. 10.24.6 observes that 'the use of this adverbial accusative expression instead of *eius aetatis* is quite common', and *OLD* well notes that the emphasis is on 'what is expected of or appropriate to particular ages' (s.v. *aetas* 2b).

10 Foreign affairs

Although we cannot know what precise events T. narrated in the section of Book 5 which is now lost, it is a plausible assumption that the majority of his narrative of AD 31 was focussed on the drama of Sejanus' fall. If that is the case, the intervention of foreign affairs in ch. 10, followed by a return to domestic affairs at the end of the book (11), suggests that the narrative of this year adopted the arrangement of *res internae – externae – internae*, which, as Ginsburg has shown, is the most frequent in the Tiberian *Annals*.[18]

On this occasion the *res externae* comprise not battles or campaigns but a story about Drusus Caesar, Germanicus' second son, who was rumoured to have appeared in the east (5.10.1 'acri . . . rumore'); but in fact the man turned out to be an impostor. This is not the first such episode in the *Annals*. In AD 16 a slave had pretended to be the dead Agrippa Postumus (2.39–40), his pretence aided by rumour (2.39.3 'uago rumore', 4 'famam', 40.1 'uulgabatur'), and three years later, in an episode which seems deliberately to mirror that of Postumus,[19] the dead Germanicus was rumoured to be still alive (2.82.4–5 'uulgata sunt', 'leuiter audita'). The present episode looks both forwards and backwards, inasmuch as its presentation has some striking similarities to one

[18] Ginsburg 54 (although AD 25 [p. 134] is not an example of this arrangement). See further below, 6.1–14 intro. n.

[19] See Woodman (2015) 266–7.

of AD 69, which Tacitus had already related in the *Histories* (2.8–9), when the dead Nero was rumoured to have appeared in the east but turned out to be an impostor (*H.* 2.8.1 'uario . . . rumore', 9.1 'gliscentem . . . famam'): see esp. 10.1n. (*Per*), 2n. (*fingebant*) below. Although these episodes indicate the power and influence of rumour,[20] they also suggest its frequency and regularity; and, since rumours proliferate above all during periods of heightened tension,[21] the present story, with its elements of nostalgia and escapism (1–2 *fama nominis*, *ad paternos exercitus*), aptly conveys the atmosphere which prevailed at Rome in the aftermath of Sejanus' execution – and which would only worsen in the following year at the start of Book 6.

10.1 Per idem tempus Asia atque Achaia exterritae sunt . . . rumore T.'s story of the false Nero in AD 69 begins with almost identical words (*H.* 2.8.1): 'sub idem tempus Achaia atque Asia falso exterritae'. *per idem tempus* occurs 16 times in T., all but one of them in the *Annals* (see 3.29.1n.): 'The *tempus* in question is usually ill-defined and in many cases one would be justified in believing that the historian was himself unsure of the chronological relation between the events introduced by *per idem tempus* and those described in the immediately preceding paragraphs' (Tuplin 784; cf. 801–5). The phrase is also a great favourite of Livy (Oakley on 7.18.2). Dio has a very brief account of the same story, differing in details and dated three years later: see Tuplin 782–4, who suggests that, since the real Drusus died in 33 (next n.), Dio or his source(s) 'may have put the impersonation in the following year quite arbitrarily'. For the choice *exterreo* see 3.15.2n.; since *acer* is often used of sound (*OLD* 2b), the likely meaning here is 'shrill'.

Drusum Germanici filium . . . uisum The real Drusus Caesar had been imprisoned in the Palatium since the previous year (Dio 58.3.8; cf. Suet. *Tib.* 54.2): hence *elapsum custodiae* below (2). He would die still a prisoner in 33 (6.23.2). For him see *RE* 10.434–5 = Iulius 137 (Gardthausen), *PIR* 4.176–8 no. 220, *BNP* 4.727 [Drusus II 2].

in continenti Mainland Greece, as Liv. 32.21.26.

Et erat iuuenis haud dispari aetate The real Drusus had been born in AD 7 or 8 and thus was now in his early twenties; similarity of age is obviously a key feature of impostor stories (2.39.2 'aetate . . . haud dissimili in dominum erat'). *et* = 'and in fact' (*OLD* 2a; Oakley on Liv. 6.11.9), as *Agr.* 10.3 'et est . . . '.

[20] See e.g. B. J. Gibson, 'Rumours as causes of events in Tacitus', *MD* 40 (1998) 111–29, Hardie 292–5.

[21] This is true of wartime above all (Thuc. 1.23.2): see P. Fussell, *The Great War and modern memory* (1975) 115–25 on 'rumor, fiction, belief'.

quibusdam Caesaris libertis uelut agnitus *uelut* is equivalent to modern 'scare quotes', acknowledging that the *princeps*' freedmen cannot really have recognised as Drusus someone who was not in fact Drusus.

per dolumque comitantibus Presumably this means 'acting as his *comites*', as again at 3.13.1, although this technical sense of *comitari* is scarcely recognised in *TLL* (cf. 3.1814.82–4: Corippus) and not at all in *OLD*. *–que* might normally be attached to *per*, but the convention with prepositions admits of variation (K–S 1.583).

ignari A quasi-substantival usage of which T. is fond (e.g. 11.35.1, 13.25.1, 14.44.1, *H.* 1.33.1).

fama nominis et promptis Graecorum animis ad noua et mira *fama nominis* presumably refers more to Germanicus (cf. 2 'pergere ad paternos exercitus') than to Drusus Caesar himself. The abl. abs. labels every Greek a second Herodotus, much of whose work is devoted to the recording of θώματα or 'marvels' and who thus acquired a reputation for purveying *fabulae* or 'tall stories' (Cic. *Leg.* 1.5), complementing his fellow countrymen's well-known habit of lying (Cic. *Scaur.* 4 'Graeculi quidem multa fingunt', Juv. 10.174 'Graecia mendax' and Courtney's n.; Tosi 111–12 no. 242). Indeed St Jerome twice refers to a popular saying: *illud e triuio 'Impostor est et Graecus!'* (*Ep.* 38.5; cf. 54.5). T. alludes again to these themes in his obituary of Arminius (2.88.3 'Graecorum . . . qui sua tantum mirantur') and his story of the phoenix (6.28.1 'doctissimis . . . Graecorum multa super eo miraculo disserendi'; cf. *H.* 2.4.1): in general see Syme, *Tac.* 512ff. For the *uariatio* of causal abl. ~ abl. abs., evidently more common in the *Histories* than in the *Annals*, see Martin (1953) 92; Malloch on 11.9.1.

10.2 elapsum custodiae *elabor* can be constructed with the dat., abl. or acc., as well as with the prepositions *ab*, *de* or *ex*: see *TLL* 5.2.315.83–316.52. T. elsewhere prefers the acc. (1.61.4 'pugnam aut uincula elapsi', 4.64.3 'statuam uim ignium bis elapsam', *H.* 3.59.2 'custodias Vitellii elapsum'); since the dat. is used esp. of persons (so *TLL*), it may be that he is here using *custodia* in its concrete sense of 'a body of men, etc., or an individual posted as a guard' (*OLD* 5).

pergere ad paternos exercitus Commentators are agreed that this is a reference to the legions in Syria, where Germanicus had most recently held command, but such a reference is redundant before *Syriam inuasurum* below and inconsistent with the apparent direction of the impostor's travel, which is evidently from east to west (1 above). It seems more likely that *paternos* is a synonym for *Germanicos*, capitalising both on the useful ambiguity of Germanicus' name and on the revolutionary resonance of the German armies: the false Agrippa Postumus had intended to transport the real Postumus 'ad exercitus

Germanicos' (2.39.1), Agrippina and Nero Caesar were treacherously advised to flee 'ad Germaniae exercitus' (4.67.4), and it was rumoured that Valerius Asiaticus 'parare iter ad Germanicos exercitus' (11.1.2, with Malloch's n.).

Aegyptum aut Syriam inuasurum Egypt was the principal source of Rome's grain and enjoyed special imperial status (2.59.3n.); Syria was home to four legions (4.5.2). Both places were associated with Drusus' father (Tuplin 796–7): Germanicus had famously toured Egypt in 19 (2.59–61), and he had an overall command of the east when he died in Syria, whose legions were hostile to Sejanus (Suet. *Tib.* 48.2), in 20 (2.69–73.1).

fingebant simul credebantque The verbs are regularly juxtaposed in various ways by various authors, but note esp. T.'s story of the false Nero: 'uiuere eum fingentibus credentibusque' (*H.* 2.8.1). For sentence-final *–que* in T. see 3.34.5n.

Iam . . . iam . . . cum auditum id Anaphora of *iam* + inverted *cum* is used for a *peripeteia* in the story of the false Agrippa Postumus also (2.40.1 'iamque Ostiam inuectum multitudo ingens, iam in urbe clandestini coetus celebrabant, cum Tiberium anceps cura distrahere'); other exs. at 11.16.2, *H.* 1.39.1, Liv. 8.38.12 (*iam* 3×), 24.32.4–5 (more extended): see Chausserie-Laprée 581–2, and, for anaphora of *iam* without *cum* (at 12.5.1), 509–12.

Iam iuuentutis concursu, iam publicis studiis frequentabatur Two interpretations seem possible. (1) There are two different abls., of instrument and attendant circumstances: 'he was already being mobbed by a throng of young men and with public enthusiasm'. (2) There is a syllepsis: 'he was already being mobbed by a throng of young men and celebrated with public enthusiasm'. The latter seems perhaps easier and encouraged by the anaphora of *iam*, but *frequentare* = 'to celebrate' appears only to be used of things (*OLD* 7a) or divinities (*TLL* 6.1.1309.23ff.), not men. Either way, the language is redolent of that used in descriptions of the *aduentus* (see e.g. Vell. 103–104.1 and nn.).

laetus praesentibus et inanium spe With its cynical substitution of *inanium* (which has been queried) for the common and expected *futuri*, this varied and chiastic summation is the authentic voice of T. (for the technique see e.g. Plass, *WWH* 173, index s.v. 'violation of expectation'). *laetus praesentibus* is Senecan (*Vit. Beat.* 26.4 'praesentibus laetus, futuri securus', *Ep.* 99.5); for the *uariatio* of adj. ~ abl. noun see Sörbom 89–91.

Poppaeo Sabino For C. Poppaeus Sabinus (*cos. ord.* AD 9) see 1.80.1n., *PIR* 6.360–1 no. 847, *BNP* 11.614–15 [Poppaeus 1]. He dies in AD 35 (6.39.3).

Macedoniae . . . curabat Sabinus was governor of Moesia from 12 to 35 but was appointed to Macedonia and Achaea in addition in 15 (1.80.1);

whether *tum intentus* is related to the war in Thrace which he had conducted successfully five years before (4.46–51) is unclear. *curare* of provincial administration is an extension (perhaps due to T.) of its Sallustian application to military command (1.31.2n.).

10.3 Igitur, quo . . . antiret The themes of anticipation and truth/falsehood again recall the story of the Postumus impostor (2.39.3–4); in our passage, however, *uera seu falsa* focalises the matter from Sabinus' point of view. For *quo* = *ut* see Oakley on Liv. 9.10.9; for initial *igitur* see 3.2.2n.

Toronaeum Thermaeumque sinum praefestinans The two gulfs, here described distributively by a singular noun and two adjs., are separated from each other by the westernmost prong (Pallene) of the Chalcidic peninsula (*BA* Maps 50–1). The meaning of *praefestinans* is evidently not the usual 'hurrying to' but 'hurrying past' (only here, according to *TLL* 10.2.619.24–8); see also 2.6.4n.

mox Euboeam . . . euadit The *uariatio* of Sabinus' journey is typically Tacitean: Euboea has a noun-phrase in apposition; the Piraeus has a dependent gen.; and the list ends with a varied chiasmus. These descriptions 'cannot be supposed to be inserted to inform his readers of the situation of these places', says Furneaux, who interprets them as 'a concise mode of saying' that Sabinus put in briefly at each of the places to conduct his enquiries. If that is so, it seems likely that *Euboeam* and *Piraeum* are governed by *euadit* rather than, as Furneaux prefers, by *praefestinans*.

marique alio The transmitted *alio* is retained by (among others) Fisher, Koestermann, Heubner, Borzsák and Martin, but Lenchantin proposed *alto* and was followed by Fuchs; yet this is not an apt description of a waterway which is bordered on its western side by the successive islands of Cephallenia and Leucas. Th. Barthold proposed *Ionio* (*RhM* 22 (1867) 644) on the grounds that a proper name is required,[22] but, although he was followed by Furneaux, this is not so. To someone on the Adriatic coast of Greece, the Aegean was simply 'the other sea' (Thuc. 1.137.1 τὴν ἑτέραν θάλασσαν), and, to someone on the Adriatic coast of Italy, the Tyrrhenian Sea was 'the other sea' (Liv. 27.10.8 'ab altero mari'). This manner of speech was especially relevant in the case of Corinth and its isthmus. In the poets Corinth is conventionally described as having 'two seas' (Hor. *C.* 1.7.2 'bimarisue Corinthi', Ov. *Met.* 6.419, and five times elsewhere in Ovid; cf. Prop. 3.21.22) or 'twin seas' (Ov. *Her.* 12.104 'maris . . . gemini', Luc. 1.101–3, Sen. *Ag.* 563, *Thy.* 628, *HF* 1164, [Sen.] *Anth. Lat.* 440.5, Val. Flacc. 5.442, Stat. *Theb.* 1.120, 7.107). This convention makes it natural that anyone crossing the isthmus, in whichever

[22] As I too once believed when I proposed *Actiaco* (2005: 324).

direction, was crossing to 'the other sea' (Liv. 32.23.4 'Romani in Cenchreas uersam partem urbis, Attalus traducto per Isthmum exercitu ab Lechaeo, alterius maris portu, oppugnabant'). Thus Sabinus, having left the Piraeus, reached the eastern shore of Corinth and crossed the Isthmus ('Corinthiense litus angustiasque Isthmi euadit'), after which he travelled to Nicopolis 'by way of the other sea', namely, the Corinthian Gulf. The real question therefore is whether *alius* can be used here for *alter*, and the evidence suggests that it can (e.g. Plin. *NH* 2.177 'ad alium polum' and esp. Val. Flacc. 1.354 'occupat Alcides aliud mare', where Zissos refers to his earlier n. on 140–1; *TLL* 1.1649.1ff. [our passage quoted at 1649.8]).[23]

Nicopolim Romanam coloniam Nicopolis (2.53.1n.) was not in fact a colony but a *ciuitas libera* (Plin. *NH* 4.5). For its spectacular monuments see W. M. Murray and P. M. Petsas, *Octavian's campsite memorial for the Actian war* (1989), K. L. Zachos, 'The *tropaeum* of the sea-battle of Actium at Nikopolis: interim report', *JRA* 16 (2003) 65–92.

sollertius perhaps suggests the kind of trick questioning typical of interrogators.

M. Silano genitum The Silani were very numerous (Syme, *AA* 188–99 and App. XII and XIII), and persons called M. Silanus held the consulship in AD 15 and 19 respectively: scholars assume that the former is meant (Tuplin 798–9, Syme, *AA* 195). For *genitus* see 3.61.1n.

tamquam Italiam peteret It is unclear whether *tamquam* means 'on the grounds that' or 'as though', and, if the latter, whether the explanation is that of Sabinus' informants or of the historian himself.

neque nos . . . ultra comperimus Thus T. has been unable to do what he promised in the case of another oddity, Libo Drusus (2.27.1): 'eius negotii initium, ordinem, finem curatius disseram'. Statements that one 'has been unable to find out something' are a familiar technique whereby the historian 'maintains credibility' (Fehling 102–3; cf. 125–7, 168).

11 The end of the year

11.1 Exitu anni diu aucta discordia consulum erupit The *consules ordinarii* for AD 31 had been Tiberius and Sejanus, but they resigned on 8 May (*ILS* 6124) and were replaced by Faustus Cornelius Sulla (Syme, *AA* 481 [index]) and Sex. Teidius Catullus (Syme, *RP* 7.475, 480, 492–5); Trio and Regulus were appointed as *suffecti* on 1 July and 1 October respectively (*CIL* 10.1233). Syme's suggestion that the present episode constitutes 'a lively reminder of Rome's history under the Republic' (above, p. 9) is borne out by

[23] *TLL* is more helpful than K–S 1.651 and L–H–S 207–8.

T.'s language: *exitu anni* is an exclusively Livian phrase (16×) before its reappearance here and at Suet. *Tib.* 4.2, while *discordia consulum* occurred previously only at Liv. 4.26.6 and 22.44.5. T. at 4.32.1 had said that *discordiae consulum* were typical of republican historiography, although there he was talking of the consuls' disputes with tribunes. The image here is perhaps that of a build-up of water which finally bursts forth: both *augeri* (e.g. 1.76.1 'continuis imbribus auctus Tiberis') and *erumpere* (e.g. 1.79.3 'lacum . . . in adiacentia erupturum', *G.* 1.2) are extremely common of water (cf. esp. Sen. *NQ* 6.8.3 'illum erumpere et augeri', of the Nile). For *aucta discordia* cf. Sall. *H.* 1.11, Sen. *Contr.* 2.6.2.

Trio See 2.28.2n., 3.10.1n.; Rutledge 234–5.

facilis capessendis inimicitiis In the sense 'ready for ~' *facilis* regularly takes the dat.; for the gerundive cf. Liv. 26.15.1 'facilis impetrandae ueniae'.

ut segnem Regulum P. Memmius Regulus played a major part in the drama of Sejanus' fall, having been given advance warning of it and subsequently summoning Sejanus in the senate and escorting him to prison (Dio 58.9.3, 10.6–8). He died thirty years later, and T. in his obituary describes him as a man of *quies* (14.47.1), perhaps the same quality which Trio here denigrates as *segnitia*. For him see *RE* 15.626–36 = Memmius 29 (Groag), *PIR* 5.249–53 no. 468, *BNP* 8.648–9 [Memmius II 4].

nisi lacesseretur, modestiae retinens The subjunctive is one of frequentative action, common from Livy onwards in historical narrative (*NLS* §196). *retinens* + gen. is already in Cicero and common in T. (*OLD retinens*); participles in *–ens* and *–ans* regularly take the gen. when they are used as adjs. expressing a continuing state (K–S 1.450). See also 6.42.1n. (*ciuitas*).

ut noxium coniurationis . . . trahebat Trio was an adherent of Sejanus (Dio 58.9.3). Adjs. meaning 'guilty' etc. tend to take the gen. (although *OLD* 1a lists this as the only ex. of *noxius*), but sometimes take the abl. also (Liv. 7.20.9 'noxios crimine'): see K–S 1.447–8. That *trahebat* is conative is suggested by the stand-off mentioned in the next sentence (2).

11.2 ponerent odia The expr. is not uncommon (see e.g. H. on *H.* 2.5.2) but is esp. favoured by the younger Seneca.

infensi ac minitantes Perhaps cf. Liv. 5.36.11 'infensi Galli bellum propalam minantes'; for T.'s overwhelming preference for the frequentative over *minari* see 3.73.1n.

donec magistratu abirent For T.'s use of *donec* + subjunc. without any idea of intention see Malloch on 11.22.4.

BOOK 6

1–14 THE YEAR AD 32

The opening of Book 5 described the death of Livia and, according to the scheme outlined in the *princeps*' obituary notice, inaugurated the penultimate period of Tiberius' principate (above, p. 49). With the fall of Sejanus in the autumn of 31, the final period is now under way, and Book 6 describes the years when, as the obituary has it, the emperor 'erupted into crimes and degradations alike' (6.51.3 'postremo in scelera simul ac dedecora prorupit').

Ginsburg showed that each narrative year in the Tiberian books of the *Annals* has its own structure and arrangement, modelled on and modifying the 'republican' arrangements of *res internae* and *res externae* which are to be found in Livy. It is true that J. W. Rich challenged the view of Livy on which she and other scholars had relied,[24] but he acknowledged that a significant portion of Livy's narrative adopted the 'internal–external–internal' model which she assumed to be the Tacitean template.[25] T.'s narrative of AD 32 is classified by Ginsburg (141–2) as consisting entirely of *res internae*, and, while this is true in one sense, it is misleading in another. Chap. 2 begins with the phrase *At Romae*, which is T.'s regular formula for effecting a transition from foreign to domestic affairs (as at 29.1 below). But in the present case the events of 1.1–2 are not foreign but Italian, focussing on Capri and the *princeps*' sorties therefrom. It is thus to be inferred from *At Romae* that T. is regarding the initial paragraph *as if* the affairs were foreign, continuing a metaphor which he began with his ethno-geographical description of the island when it was first introduced at 4.67 (nn.), and sustaining the notion that Tib. was alienated from his subjects.

This alienation reaches its most developed form of presentation in Book 6. Both in its account of Tiberius' sexual vices and in its authorial comment (1.1 'more regio') the opening paragraph of the book establishes the emperor's transformation into a tyrant. We know from the work of the elder Seneca that the figure of the tyrant and his various characteristics featured prominently in first-century AD declamation;[26] but the typical tyrant had also appeared in

[24] Rich first challenged the traditional view of Livy in 'Structuring Roman history: the consular year and the Roman historical tradition', *Histos* 1 (1997), of which a slightly shortened and revised version was published in J. D. Chaplin and C. S. Kraus (edd.), *Livy* (2009) 118–47; a re-revised version of the original paper appeared in *Histos* 5 (2011) 1–43.

[25] In Books 21–45 the 'underlying framework' is that 'The consuls' movements between Rome and their provinces provide a chronological structure, ensuring that the main accounts of domestic events generally come at the beginning and end of the year' (p. 126 of the 2009 version; cf. p. 132).

[26] See R. Tabacco, 'Il tiranno nelle declamazioni di scuola in lingua latina', *Mem. Acad. Scienze di Torino II. Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche, Filologiche*, Ser.

numerous earlier texts in different genres: of particular interest is the account put into Socrates' mouth by Plato (*Rep.* 562a–80c), since Tiberius exhibits many of the vices used by Plato to identify typically tyrannical behaviour. Although it cannot be proved that T. modelled his Tiberius directly on the tyrant depicted by Plato, it is significant that in the course of his narrative (6.1–3) he quotes one of the *princeps*' letters and then proceeds to psychoanalyse it on the basis of what the 'praestantissimus sapientiae' had said about 'the minds of tyrants' (T. uses the word *tyrannus* nowhere else). The reference is very similar to the 'encoding' which he uses elsewhere to help his readers 'decode' a literary allusion (see 3.33.4n.): there seems little doubt that T. intends his readers to see Tiberius in terms of the Socratic tyrant in Plato.[27]

1 Campania and Capri

Ancient authors naturally devoted a great deal of their attention to openings.[28] Of the extant books of the *Annals*, only the start of Book 15 can be said to lack drama or suspense, and a case can be made that the opening of Book 6 is the most brilliant of all. 'Nothing', says Walker (42), 'could be more dramatically appropriate than the opening of this Book.'

5, 9 (1985) 1–141, with considerable bibliography, to which add S. Borzsák, 'Persertum und griechisch-römische Antike: zur Ausgestaltung des klassischen Tyrannenbildes', *Gymn.* 94 (1987) 289–97, D. Lateiner, *The historical method of Herodotus* (1989) 172–9, G. O'Daly, *The poetry of Boethius* (1991) 74–103, K. Blomquist, *The tyrant in Aristotle's Politics* (1998), L. Boulègue, H. Casanova-Robin and C. Lévy (edd.), *Le tyran et sa postérité dans la littérature latine de l'Antiquité à la Renaissance* (2013).

[27] Many scholars believe that T. at 6.2–3 is alluding primarily to *Gorgias* 524e and only secondarily to *Rep.* 579d, but the matter is by no means clear-cut (see ad loc.) and in any case, if we follow T. G. Rosenmeyer's view of literary relationships in the classical world, the important thing is that T. is consistently following Platonic texts ('Ancient literary genres: a mirage?', *Yearbook of comp. and gen. lit.* 34 (1985) 74–84). For the Platonic tyrant see G. Heintzeler, *Das Bild des Tyrannen bei Platon* (1927), R. D. Parry, 'The unhappy tyrant and the craft of inner rule', in G. R. F. Ferrari (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Plato's Republic* (2007) 394–414. When mentioning the influence of the tyrant figure on T.'s Tiberius, scholars conventionally refer to Walker 204–14, but note also T. S. Jerome, *Aspects of the study of Roman history* (1923) 326, 367–80; more recently on this see Heinz 30ff., Ihrig 133–55, F. Galtier, *L'image tragique de l'Histoire chez Tacite* (2011) 210ff.

[28] See e.g. F. M. Dunn and T. Cole (edd.), *Beginnings in classical literature* (1992), A. D. Nuttall, *Openings: narrative beginnings from the epic to the novel* (1992), B. Bureau and C. Nicolas (edd.), *Commencer et finir: débuts et fins dans les littératures grecque, latine et néolatine* (2008).

The narrative of Book 5 concluded with episodes of social febrility and individual antagonism, where credence was given to a false Drusus (10) and the consuls were at each other's throats (11); as Book 6 opens, the *princeps* is sailing along the coast of Campania, seemingly untouched by these events and for all the world on a pleasure cruise (1.1). But his trip is soon revealed to be emblematic of the person: he cannot decide whether to return to responsibilities which he had abandoned six years before (4.57.1) and which he had never formally assumed in the first place (1.11.1–13.5):[29] every move he makes sees him caught between Capri and the capital (*ambiguus*, *aditis . . . hortis*), acting out the indecision which has been one of his chief characteristics. Eventually he returns to the solitude of his rocky, sea-girt residence. Yet, in a second revelation, his solitude is said to be a cover for his criminal lusts ('pudore scelerum et libidinum'), which were so uncontrolled that he behaved in the manner of a tyrant ('more regio').

At this point (1.2) the narrative leaves the specific circumstances of AD 32 and, as is suggested by the tenses of the verbs (*habebat*, *exercebant*), broadens out into a general description of the *princeps*' sexual demands. *libidines* are one of the hallmarks of the typical tyrant (1.1n. *pudore*), and T.'s account is so conventional that it has been doubted even by modern historians; but T. authenticates his description by mentioning linguistic details which imply inside knowledge, while the vividness of the whole constitutes a memorable portrait which sets the scene for the entire book (cf. esp. 15.3, 39.2) and is matched at the end by the complementary obituary notice on the tyrant's death (51.3).

1.1 Cn. Domitius et Camillus Scribonianus consulatum inierant, cum Caesar . . . No other year-beginning in the extant *Annals* combines the consular formula with an inverted *cum*-construction, and no other year apart from 23 begins with an inverted *cum* at all (4.1.1 'nonus Tiberio annus erat . . . cum repente turbare fortuna coepit'). It is also exceptionally rare to have an imperfect-tense verb in the *cum*-clause, and T., with four cases (cf. 1.51.3, 11.26.1, *H.* 1.62.2), has as many as Sallust, Livy and Curtius together (Chausserie-Laprée 595). The tense makes sense only if it is understood inchoatively: '. . . had embarked on their consulship when Caesar started to skirt Campania'. Since T. does not specify the length of time which separated 1 January from the start of Tib.'s cruising, his words do not conflict with Suetonius' statement that after the fall of Sejanus the *princeps* did not leave his villa on Capri for nine months (*Tib.* 65.2); we should remember that the sailing season did not in any case begin until spring, and *principio anni* at 2.1 below could be taken to imply that the emperor's movements did *not* coincide with the beginning of the year.

[29] For this interpretation of the accession debate see *Tac. Rev.* 40–69.

Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, whose mother was Antonia *maior*, held the *fasces* for the whole year, an unusual honour; he was married to Agrippina the younger and was father of Nero (4.75 and n.): see *RE* 5.1331–3 = Domitius 25 (Groag), *PIR* 3.30–2 no. 127, *BNP* 4.644 [Domitius II 1]; Syme, *AA* 482–3 (index). L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus, son of M. Furius Camillus (*cos. ord.* AD 8) but adopted by L. Arruntius (5.1n. below), was replaced half-way through the year by A. Vitellius as suffect consul: see *RE* 2.1264 = Arruntius 14 (von Rohden), *PIR* 1.224–6 no. 1140, *BNP* 2.30 [Arruntius II 8].

tramisso . . . freto 'The view of the sea as a divisive factor . . . has its roots in the primitive idea of water as an element which serves to divide one thing from another' (Gabba 57, referring to R. v. Scheliha, *Die Wassergrenze im Altertum* (1931); see also N–H on Hor. *C.* 1.3.21–2). In fact T. had earlier given 3 Roman miles (= 4.35 km) as the distance between Capri and the mainland at its shortest point (4.67.1 'trium milium freto ab extremis Surrentini promunturii diiunctam'); but navigating from the island harbour to that at Surrentum is about four times that distance, and T. is here concerned to underline the isolation of the island (below). *interluere* is relatively rare and seems choice (*TLL* 7.1.2221.56–2222.6).

Campaniam praelegebat In the sense of 'to skirt' (again at 2.79.1, *Agr.* 38.4) the verb is almost exclusive to T. (*TLL* 10.2.687.62–71) and suggests the *princeps*' characteristically liminal activity, neither putting in to land nor sailing out into open water, 'a tyrant of islands and shores' (said of Polycrates by Plin. *NH* 37.3: 'insularum et litorum tyranno'). The shores of Campania were famously attractive (3.59.3n., Mela 2.70 'amoena Campaniae litora'), as was the Bay of Naples in the immediate vicinity of Capri (4.67.2 'pulcherrimum sinum, antequam Vesuuius mons ardescens faciem loci uerteret'). Although there is no hint of it here, the area was well known for its pleasure-craft (Cic. *Cael.* 35, Sen. *Ep.* 51.4, Juv. 12.80).

ambiguus an urbem intraret We have to remember that the *princeps* could not simply have strolled through the gates; the entry of a great man into a city involved a ritual of considerable ceremony (see e.g. Oakley on Liv. 9.6.7, W. on Vell. 103–104.1; in general J. Lehnen, *Adventus Principis* (1997)): Augustus was anxious to avoid it (Suet. *Aug.* 53.2, Dio 54.10.4, 54.25.4), and one can well imagine that the same was true of Tib. *ambiguus* continues the theme of the *princeps*' indecisiveness; for the indir. qu. see 3.15.1n.

seu . . . speciem uenturi simulans The appendix to the sentence ends with a 'loaded alternative' (D. Whitehead, 'Tacitus and the loaded alternative', *Latomus* 38 (1979) 491). In 14 Tib. had seemed about to go to the troops in Germany (1.47.3 'ut iam iamque iturus'), in 21 to Gaul (3.47.2 'nunc . . . iturum'), in 23 to the provinces at large (4.4.2 'uetus et saepe simulatum proficiscendi in prouincias consilium'). The picture was so familiar that he was

given the nickname 'Callippides', after a Greek who became a byword for running on the spot (Suet. *Tib.* 38; cf. Cic. *Att.* 13.12.3). See also 15.3 below.

saepe in propinqua degressus The phrase helps to explain *speciem . . . simulans* above: it refers to the *princeps*' various feints towards the city on the present occasion, as the tense of the main verb indicates (*repetiit*), and not to the sorties he will make in the remaining years of his life (15.3n. *deuiis*). The plur. *propinqua* (again at 4.65, 4.74.3, 6.44.2 [n.]) is imitated from Sall. *J.* 89.5; later at Gell. 15.1.2 and Amm. 14.2.8.

aditis iuxta Tiberim hortis There is a certain hortulan symmetry to Tib.'s career as *princeps* (Champlin (2008) 422–3): during his first dozen years in office he left Rome only twice, once to visit Caesar's Gardens in 16 for the dedication of a temple (2.41.1 'Tiberim iuxta in hortis quos Caesar dictator populo Romano legauerat': see n.); now in 32 there is another reference to the same Gardens, which according to Suet. the *princeps* visited only once after he had retired to Capri (*Tib.* 72.1): 'semel triremi usque ad proximos naumachiae hortos subuectus est, disposita statione per ripas Tiberis quae obuiam prodeuntis submoueret'. Like shorelines, gardens are a liminal space, neither country nor city, and this was certainly true of Caesar's Gardens (cf. Suet. loc. cit. 'prospectis modo nec aditis urbis moenibus'): their mention confirms the picture of an indecisive and self-marginalised *princeps*, caught between the two worlds of the capital and his island retreat, between his official responsibilities and his individual pleasures; Tib. had in fact lived in garden retirement earlier in his life after his return from the island of Rhodes (Suet. *Tib.* 15.1 'in hortos Maecenatianos transmigrauit totumque se ad quietem contulit, priuata modo officia obiens ac publicorum munerum expers'). Caesar's Gardens were clearly a more public area, formally arranged, and thus contrast pointedly with the wildness and solitude of Capri, which T. is about to mention. For the Gardens see *LTUR* 3.55–6, Richardson 197 (2); for Roman gardens in general see e.g. P. Grimal, *Les Jardins romains* (³1984), M. Beard, 'Imaginary *horti*: or up the garden path', in *Horti Romani* (ed. M. Cima and E. La Rocca, 1998) 23–32, J. H. D'Arms, 'Between public and private: the *epulum publicum* and Caesar's *Horti trans Tiberim*', ibid. 33–44, D. Spencer, *Roman landscape: culture and identity* (2010) 12 n. 45 (bibliography), M. Carroll, *Earthly Paradises: ancient gardens in history and archaeology* (2003), K. M. Coleman and P. Derron (edd.), *Le jardin dans l'antiquité* (2014), K. S. Myers, 'Representations of gardens in Roman literature' (forthcoming).

saxa rursum et solitudinem maris repetiit Islands are the archetypal liminal space and held a fascination for the ancients: they are terrestrial but surrounded by water, potential utopias for their inhabitants (the Islands of the Blessed) but isolated from normal society (Philoctetes on Lemnos);

Callimachus and Diodorus were only two of the authors who wrote about islands: in general see Gabba 55–60. Tib. had already established his fondness for islands when he retired to Rhodes for eight years in 6 BC (1.4.4); when he withdrew to Capri in AD 27, he was said by T. to be especially attracted by its solitude (4.67.2): 'solitudinem eius placuisse maxime crediderim, quoniam importuosum circa mare et uix modicis nauigiis pauca subsidia'. T. does not there mention the island's principal feature, its rocks (Suet. *Tib.* 40 'insula . . . saepta undique praeruptis immensae altitudinis rupibus', Juv. 10.93 'principis angusta Caprearum in rupe sedentis'), but here they are introduced as if symbolising the isolation of the place and its suitability for the *princeps*' habitation. 'The representation of a sympathetic correspondence between external nature and the events for which it provides the setting is of course widespread in ancient literature' (R. Coleman, *Vergil: Eclogues* (1977) 9, quoting e.g. Soph. *Phil.* 1453–68). Thus the features which might have dismayed anyone else (cf. Turpil. fr. 113 'me miseram terrent omnia: maris scopuli, sonitus, solitudo') were a source of pleasure to Tib., as Sejanus had foreseen (4.41.3 'extollens laudibus . . . solitudinem'). Capri was his 'citadel' (*NH* 3.82 'Tiberi principis arce nobiles Capreae'), and it was of course conventional for a tyrant to reside in an *arx* (see Mayor's brilliant note on Juv. 10.307); for the notion that Capri represented a 'second Rome' see P. Ceauşescu, '*Altera Roma*: histoire d'une folie politique', *Historia* 25 (1976) 107–8. *saxa . . . et solitudinem* is a Ciceronian expr. (*Verr.* 5.171, *Arch.* 19, the latter quoted five times by Quint.), here contrasting with the image conveyed by the reference to Caesar's Gardens; the contrast is underlined by *rursum*, which, given '*re*petiit' below, here means 'conversely' (cf. *OLD* 2, 6a); for T.'s use of *rursum* as opposed to *rursus* see 3.15.2n.

When Tib. had left Rome for good in 26 on his way to Capri, T. tells us that he was accompanied by a small escort (4.67.1 'arto comitatu'): the jurist Cocceius Nerva, the distinguished *eques* Curtius Atticus, some literary men (principally Greek), and of course Sejanus. But this list omits a large number of other residents and visitors from the *princeps*' family and friends, to say nothing of the members of his household: see Houston, esp. 183ff. Yet in many ways this domestic crowd is beside the point, since Tib. could always ignore them if he so preferred; conversely, in his official life he had craved *adiutores* to share in the imperial burden (1.11.1), but, now that the last of his four 'designated' helpers had had to be removed for a treachery which deterred the *princeps* from ever taking on a fifth, he was for the remainder of his life truly alone.

pudore scelerum et libidinum, quibus adeo indomitis exarserat Since *indomitus* is elsewhere combined with *libido* (*H.* 4.68.1, Cic. *Clu.* 15 (quoted by Quint. 4.2.105), Varr. *RR* 1.13.6) but not with *scelus*, it seems likely

either that the *quibus*-clause refers only to *libidinum* or (more likely: next n.) that we have a hendiadys ('criminal lusts'). The combination of *scelus* and *libido* (sing. and plur.) is common in, and almost exclusive to, Cicero and Livy; for *pudor scel.* cf. 14.7.6, Val. Fl. 8.312–13, Stat. *Theb.* 11.425. It is a characteristic of the tyrant that he cannot control himself (e.g. Plato, *Rep.* 579c ἑαυτοῦ ὢν ἀκράτωρ, Cic. *Rep.* 2.45 'neque suos mores regere poterat neque suorum libidines', *Fin.* 3.75) and that he is characterised by various forms of *libido* (e.g. Nep. 21.2.2 'quod in tyranno non facile reperitur, minime libidinosus', Cic. *I Verr.* 14, *Prov. Cons.* 6, *Rab. Post.* 1 'potestati regiae libidinique', Sen. *Contr.* 2.5.1, Sen. fr. 34H = 68V 'in regiae libidinis uoluptatem castrati quidam', *Clem.* 1.11.4; Weische 34–8). The latter feature lies behind the trope that Ἔρως is itself a tyrant (Plato, *Rep.* 573b–d).

ut . . . pubem ingenuam stupris pollueret *stuprum* is 'an illicit sexual act, whether an adulterous liaison or a forcible violation (as distinct from an act committed with a prostitute). The act might be homosexual or heterosexual' (Adams, *LSV* 201). The point of the *ut*-clause resides in *ingenuam*: a Roman male could penetrate a slave or prostitute, male or female, with impunity; but the traditional code of behaviour 'marked free-born Romans of either sex as off-limits, designating sexual relations with such persons as illicit behaviour, or *stuprum*' (C. A. Williams, 'Greek love at Rome', *CQ* 45 (1995) 531): see e.g. Val. Max. 6.1.10 'quod cum ingenuo adulescentulo stupri commercium habuisset, publicis uinculis onerauit', Quint. 4.2.69 'ingenuum stuprauit et stupratus se suspendit', Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 288a ἐλευθέρων δὲ παίδων ἰσχυρῶς ἀπείχοντο. Hence the deliberate paradoxes at Petr. 81.4 'stupro liber, stupro ingenuus'.

Since sexual behaviour in general was a standard topic of invective, it is unsurprising both that *stuprum* of this type featured therein (e.g. *Rhet. Herenn.* 4.12 'qui uiolassent ingenuum, matremfamilias constuprassent . . . matribusfamilias et ingenuis sub hostilem libidinem subiectis') and that it was used against anyone whom one wished to describe as 'other', whether foreign tyrants (next n.) or one's opponent in court or in other circumstances when one was trying to make a case: e.g. Cic. *Phil.* 3.31 'uirgines, pueri ingenui abripiuntur, militibus traduntur' [of L. Antonius], *Verr.* 4.116 'adhibitam uim ingenuis', Liv. 26.13.15 'rapi ad stuprum matres . . . uirginesque et ingenuos pueros', 29.17.13–20 'si *scelus libidinemque* et auaritiam solus ipse *exercere* in socios uestros satis haberet, unam profundam quidem uoraginem tamen patientia nostra expleremus; nunc . . . omnes rapiunt, spoliant, uerberant, uolnerant, occidunt; con*stuprant* matronas, uirgines, *ingenuos raptos* ex complexu *parentium*. cottidie *capitur* urbs nostra, cottidie diripitur; dies noctesque omnia passim mulierum puerorumque qui rapiuntur atque asportantur ploratibus sonant . . . nego domum ullam Locris, nego quemquam hominem expertem iniuriae esse; nego ullum genus *sceleris*, *libidinis*, auaritiae superesse quod in

ullo qui pati potuerit praetermissum sit. uix ratio iniri potest uter casus ciuitati sit detestabilior, cum hostes bello urbem *cepere* an cum exitiabilis *tyrannus* ui atque armis oppressit. omnia quae *captae* urbes patiuntur passi sumus et cum maxime patimur, patres conscripti; omnia quae crudelissimi atque importunissimi *tyranni scelera* in oppressos ciues edunt Pleminius in nos liberosque nostros et coniuges edidit', 39.8.7. *pubes* 'is capable of a sexual implication that *iuuentus* lacks' (N–H on Hor. *C.* 1.25.17); the nearest parallel to *pubem ingenuam* is Suet. *DJ* 42.1 'puberum ingenuorum'. For *s. polluere* see H. on *H.* 2.56.1.

more regio Since Roman authors tended to describe foreigners as 'other', it was conventional to attribute to them patterns of behaviour – however outrageous, such as *stuprum* – which were the opposite of those regarded as normal at Rome; here T. capitalises on the convention: by accusing Tib. of behaviour which was tyrannical, and hence unRoman, he underlines the alienation of the *princeps* from his people. Ironically Artabanus, the Parthian king (32.1n.), is said by Suetonius (*Tib.* 66) to have written to Tib. accusing him of various vices including *luxuria*, which would include the practices described by T. here. For other occasions where T. introduces foreign kings for comparative purposes cf. 4.35.5 'externi reges aut qui eadem saeuitia usi sunt', 6.42.1 'regiae libidini', 16.23.2 'regio facinore', *H.* 4.83.3 'ut sunt ingenia regum', 5.8.3 'aliaque solita regibus'. *more regio* is a very common phrase and found in numerous other authors.

1.2 in his modestam pueritiam . . . incitamentum cupidinis habebat 'with some he had their youthful shyness as a stimulus to his desire': T. is extremely fond of *habeo* + predicate (G–G 512a–b), but the precise nuance is sometimes difficult to catch. The classic example of this *incitamentum* is Lucretia, victim of another tyrannical figure (Liv. 1.57.10 'cum forma tum spectata castitas incitat'; cf. Ov. *F.* 2.765). *incitamentum cupidinis* is unparalleled; for T.'s liking for nouns in *–mentum* see 5.1.1n. (*quorum*).

in aliis imagines maiorum The possession of ancestral images was a sign of nobility (H. Flower, *Ancestor masks and aristocratic power in Roman culture* (1996) 62–3), and *imagines* is a common metonymy for high birth (*TLL* 7.1.406.14–15). In erotic contexts a good background may or may not be an attraction, depending on circumstances (compare e.g. *Anth. Pal.* 12.195.3 εὐγενέτας . . . παῖδας with Prop. 1.5.23–4 'nec tibi nobilitas poterit succurrere amanti: | nescit amor priscis cedere imaginibus'). Here the point is the inversion of the moral order, one of T.'s favourite themes (cf. Walker 241): whereas in the earlier part of Tib.'s reign noble ancestors were a criterion for office (4.6.2 'mandabatque honores nobilitatem maiorum . . . spectando'), now they were an incitement to his illicit sex. Since the *imagines* are often associated with brightness (e.g. *H.* 4.39.3 'egregiis maioribus et fraterna imagine fulgentem' and H.'s n.; cf. J. E. Lendon, *Empire of honour: the art of government in the Roman*

world (1997) 274–5), there is perhaps an additional implied contrast with the sordidness of the sexual activity (cf. e.g. 15.32 'feminarum inlustrium senatorumque plures per arenam foedati sunt').

Tuncque primum . . . uocabula reperta sunt The registering of 'firsts' had always been a traditional feature of historiography (see e.g. 3.26.3n. with General Index, p. 500, s.v. 'first'; Oakley on Liv. 7.5.9), and in due course T. will record Claudius' invention of three new letters for the Latin alphabet (cf. 11.14.1–3 and Malloch ad loc.). Since the historian himself clearly has an intrinsic interest in words (e.g. 1.3.7 'eadem magistratuum uocabula') and their meaning (*H.* 1.37.4 'quae alii scelera, hic remedia uocat, dum falsis nominibus . . . appellat'), and since he is fastidious in their use (Syme, *Tac.* 711–45) and follows his model (Gell. 1.15.18 'nouatori uerborum Sallustio') in himself coining words (3.30.1 *adcumulator*; 12.7.2, 15.42.2 *cupitor*; 6.32.4 *adulatorius*; 13.14.3 *professorius*; Syme, *Tac.* 342), we might expect him to register significant new words in the same way as he does Claudius' letters; but, whereas the invention of new words in Latin had traditionally been associated with the safely austere world of philosophy (e.g. Cic. *Fin.* 3.3 'nobis . . . uerba parienda sunt imponendaque noua rebus nouis nomina'), the invention of these particular new words (*sellariorum et spintriarum*) is noted to provide a further marker of moral degeneration. Novel lusts are a mark of the tyrant (e.g. Liv. 24.5.5 'libidines nouae'), and T. is elsewhere keen to record firsts in crime and the like (e.g. 2.27.1 'tum primum reperta sunt quae per tot annos rem publicam exedere', 2.30.2 'callidus et noui iuris repertor Tiberius', 4.19.2 'proprium id Tiberio fuit, scelera nuper reperta priscis uerbis obtegere', 4.20.1, 4.34.1 'nouo ac tunc primum audito crimine', 14.48.2 'tum primum reuocata ea lex'). Note Virg. *Aen.* 2.164 'scelerumque inuentor Ulixes'.

sellariorum et spintriarum ex foeditate loci ac multiplici patientia These words raise many questions, of which the first are: Is *sellariorum* masculine or neuter? Does it refer to persons or places? That the word is neuter and refers to places is suggested by its three other occurrences in classical Latin: Plin. *NH* 34.84 'ex omnibus quae rettuli [the reference is to works of art], clarissima quaeque in urbe iam sunt dicata a Vespasiano principe in templo Pacis aliisque eius operibus, uiolentia Neronis in urbem conuecta et in sellariis domus aureae disposita', 36.111 'nimirum sic habitauerant illi qui hoc imperium fecere tantum, ad deuincendas gentes triumphosque referendos ab aratro aut foco exeuntes, quorum agri quoque minorem modum optinuere quam sellaria istorum!', Suet. *Tib.* 43.1 'secessu uero Caprensi etiam sellaria excogitauit, sedem arcanarum libidinum, in quam undique conquisiti puellarum et exoletorum greges monstrosique concubitus repertores, quos spintrias appellabat, triplici serie conexi, inuicem incestarent coram ipso, ut aspectu deficientis libidines excitaret'. However, the scholiast on Juv. 3.136

dubitas alta Chionen deducere sella ('you hesitate to escort Snowy from her high seat') explains that female prostitutes were called 'sellariae' ('inde sellariae dictae') because they pimped for business on seats outside brothels (in addition to Juvenal cf. Plaut. *Poen.* 268; J. N. Adams, 'Words for "prostitute" in Latin', *RhM* 126 (1983) 330), and, if the scholiast's information is correct, presumably it was possible for male prostitutes to be called *sellarii*. Cramer's note on the passage of Juvenal, explaining that the term can refer to persons, is reproduced by Ruperti as explaining the passage of T. Several more recent scholars have also believed that the word refers to persons but have preferred to derive it from *sella* in its sense of 'latrine' (*OLD* 3): hence Martin's clever 'stoolmen'. Champlin (2011), on the other hand, has reverted to the derivation from seated prostitutes but argues that *sellaria* is a neuter collective noun (rather like Eng. 'stews') meaning 'place of seats' and is equivalent to 'brothel' (318–22).

What is one to make of all this? The following considerations seem esp. relevant. (a) The three classical examples of the word (the first two of them from the mid-first century AD) all refer to a place or places. (b) The two terms *sellariorum* and *spintriarum* are explained by *ex foeditate loci* and *multiplici patientia*: this looks very like 'double zeugma' (5.4.4n. *audiri*), in which case *ex foeditate loci* will refer to *sellariorum*. (c) One would not have expected Nero to keep works of art in a latrine. We may therefore conclude that *sellariorum* is the genitive of *sellaria* and that *sellaria* refers to a series of domestic brothels.

spintria is almost as rare a term as *sellaria*, occurring (besides our passage and Suet. *Tib.* 43.1, quoted above) at Petron. 113.11 'si uir fueris, non ibis ad spintriam', Suet. *Cal.* 16.1 'spintrias monstrosarum libidinum aegre ne profundo mergeret exoratus, urbe submouit', *Vit.* 3.2 'pueritiam primamque adulescentiam Capreis egit inter Tiberiana scorta, et ipse perpetuo Spint[he]riae cognomine notatus', *HA Ant. Heliog.* 33.1 'libidinum genera quaedam inuenit, ut spinthrias ueterum imperatorum uinceret, et omnis apparatus Tiberii et Caligulae et Neronis norat'. Explanations of the term have varied. The phrase *multiplici patientia* has encouraged many scholars to connect the term with the Greek σφίγκτης and to render it as 'male prostitute' (*OLD*), but Bach in his edition preferred a more obvious connection with the Greek σπινθήρ ('spark'), 'propterea quod turpes isti ministri quasi scintillam sive ardorem monstrosarum libidinum excitabant'.[30] Champlin (2011: 322ff.) has argued that, since the *Latin* term *spinter* means a 'bracelet' or 'bangle', *spintria* ought to mean 'bracelet-worker', a euphemism for some kind of (male or female) sexual performer. Whether the reference is to the *spintriae*'s bodily apertures clasping the penis in the way that a bracelet clasps

[30] Presumably the actor from whom the consul of 57 BC took his cognomen had acquired Spinther as a nickname.

one's arm, as Champlin prefers, or to a threesome in a bracelet-like circle, as Suetonius may seem to suggest ('triplici serie conexi'), is uncertain. It is true that such a threesome is not illustrated in J. R. Clarke, *Roman sex 100* BC-AD *250* (2003), but it would be one solution to the mathematical puzzle at *Anth. Pal.* 12.210.

Both genitives are definitive: '(the terms) bawdyhouses and banglers'. For *patientia* as referring to the passive role see *TLL* 10.1.714.1–13.

praepositique serui qui re<quire>rent, pertraherent Slaves are put in charge of requisitioning the freeborn (*ingenuam*, above), turning them into slaves (*captos*, below) in order to satisfy the lusts to which the tyrant is himself enslaved, his servile condition thus resembling that of the society of which he is master (cf. Plato, *Rep.* 579e, alluded to at 6.2 below: see n. *firmare*).[31]

In favour of *conquirerent* (accepted by Furneaux, Koestermann, Borzsák and Martin) is that it is the same word as used at Suet. *Tib.* 43.1 *conquisiti*,[32] but the neatness of Weissenborn's proposed haplography is hard to resist. For the asyndeton see 5.7.1n. (*singulos*).

dona in promptos, minae aduersum abnuentes 'There were gifts for the willing, threats against the reluctant.' The MS reads *minas*, which, though hardly ever challenged, is problematic. One must either assume the ellipse of a verb or regard *dona* and *minas* as objects of *exercebant* at the very end of the sentence. An ellipse seems extremely difficult; and, while *minas exercere* is paralleled at Phaedr. 3.6.11, *dona exercere* is naturally impossible: one would have to assume a zeugma. It is much easier to assume that *minae* was wrongly attracted into the surrounding accusatives (see Heraeus, *Studia* 15–20 for some other exs.). For T.'s preference for *aduersum* over *aduersus* see 3.14.1n.

si retinuerant propinquus aut parens, . . . uelut in captos exercebant The scene is almost a parody of the wedding night described by Catullus (62.21–4): 'qui natam possis complexu auellere matris, | complexu matris *retinentem*[33] auellere natam . . . | quid faciunt hostes *capta* crudelius urbe?' But, whereas the latter is legitimised by formal ritual and mutual agreement, T.'s scene represents systematic and heartless violence. *parentes* and *propinqui* are a regular alliterative combination, usually in that order (as at 3.43.1, *G.* 18.2); the other two exceptions are 4.62.3 and Curt. 8.8.18.

When the paradosis offers *retinuerent*, it is virtually impossible to decide whether to emend to the pluperf. indic. (Ritter) or the imperf. subjunc.

[31] I owe these points to Peter Moench.

[32] Scholars attribute *conquirerent* to Doederlein, but in his edition (1841) he suggests *inquirerent*, as correctly reported in the edition (1848) of Ritter, who himself suggests *conquirerent*.

[33] The transmitted *retinentem*, though printed by Mynors and Thomson, has been questioned; Vannini suggested *renuentem*.

(Beroaldus). Though most edd. adopt the latter, the former ('whenever . . . ') seems to me more likely.

uim raptus suaque ipsi libita . . . exercebant 'they themselves resorted to forcible seizure and self-gratification': *sua . . . libita* is the abductors' reward for being put to the trouble of *uim raptus*; on the same account, of course, it is also punishment for the victims. *uis*, one of the hallmarks of the tyrant, is here 'unlawful force or violence', but with suggestions of 'force used to obtain sexual gratification' (*OLD* 3a, 2a); *raptus*, however, must refer to abduction, not to rape itself, as *retinuerant* (above) shows. The wrenching of children from parents is a feature of tyrannical behaviour (e.g. Sall. *C.* 51.9 'diuelli liberos a parentum complexu', Liv. 3.57.3 'animo ad libidinem uerso uirginem ingenuam . . . uelut bello captam ab complexu patris abreptam', 29.17.15 'raptos ex complexu parentium'), while the slaves here behave in exactly the opposite manner to that demanded of the associates of a good ruler (Arist. *Pol.* 1314b23–5 ἔτι δὲ μὴ μόνον αὐτὸν φαίνεσθαι μηδένα τῶν ἀρχομένων ὑβρίζοντα, μήτε νέον μήτε νέαν, ἀλλὰ μηδ' ἄλλον μηδένα τῶν περὶ αὐτόν). For the idiom of a noun + genitive instead of adj. + noun see *Agr.* 21.2n. *uim exercere* is a regular phrase (*TLL* 5.2.1374.3–5), but *libitum* is a noun exclusive to T. and perhaps coined by him (12.6.2, 14.2.2): for such combinations see 5.6.3n. *non* (and for coinages see above, n. *tuncque*).

uelut in captos Similes drawn from captives – especially those taken in a stormed city, scenes of which often involve victims of rape – are extremely common: see exs. quoted above, and also G. M. Paul, '*Urbs capta*: sketch of an ancient literary motif', *Phoenix* 36 (1982) 144–55. T. in the *Annals* encourages the notion that emperors are at war with their subjects (E. Keitel, 'Principate and civil war in the *Annals* of Tacitus', *AJP* 105 (1984) 309): see esp. 19.2 and 39.2 below.

2–14 Domestic affairs

The domestic narrative opens with punitive measures against the memory of Sejanus' wife (2.1), while at the end of the year a renegade escapes punishment because the authorities forget all about him (14.2). Within this frame, which typifies the ironies of the narrative year, there are twelve episodes, divided equally on either side of the noble speech by M. Terentius, which both in position and in theme forms the centre-piece of the year (7.5–9.1).[34] Most of these episodes, including Terentius' speech, take place in the senate, with the

[34] Ginsburg merely lists the events of the year in an unsystematic fashion and makes no attempt at arrangement (142); Wille's arrangement differs from that proposed here (452–6, 624–5).

result that AD 32 contains easily the second-highest proportion of senatorial material in the whole of the Tiberian *Annals*.[35]

The first six episodes fall into two groups of three. The flattering proposal of the insignificant Togonius Gallus is dismissed with characteristic sarcasm by the *princeps* (2.2–5), while Junius Gallio's suggestion, also intended to be flattering, is treated much more severely (3.1–3); the odious Sextilius Paconianus, treated more harshly still, turns informer and accuses Lucanius Latiaris (3.4–4.1), whose treachery had caused the downfall of a friend in Book 4. The plight of these two was greeted with delight (*gratissimum spectaculum*), and the resentment with which they were regarded (*iuxta inuisi*) constitutes a link between this group of three and the next. Haterius Agrippa fails in his attempt at provoking the previous year's consuls, but he attracts even more resentment for the decadence and malevolence of his lifestyle (4.2–4 *inuisior*). Messalinus Cotta, an object of long-standing resentment (5.1 *inueterata inuidia*), is accused of questioning Caligula's masculinity and of making a sinisterly treasonable joke, but is rescued by Tiberius (5.1–7.1); conversely Tiberius ordered the prosecution of Servaeus and Thermus, but they turned informers, and their case inevitably involved others too (7.2–4).

The six episodes which follow Terentius' speech are grouped in three pairs. Accusations and deaths at Rome (9.2–10.1) are paired with the deaths of two victims on Capri (10.2): Vescularius Flaccus, whose treachery had caused the death of Libo Drusus in Book 2, and Julius Marinus. The plight of these two was greeted with delight (*laetius acceptum*), and serves only to highlight the natural death, at a great age, of L. Piso, whose role as *praefectus urbi* prompts an antiquarian digression on the history of the office (10.3–11.3); correspondingly, a procedural error regarding the Sibylline Books prompts a second digression on the previous history of the Books, some of it from the mouth of Tiberius (12). Finally, Tiberius' reaction to a serious grain crisis not only registers the ongoing deterioration in his reign but also prepares for a dominant theme of the next year's narrative (13); and this is followed, appropriately, by four final deaths (14.1), Julius Celsus not spared for having turned informer.

Given that the three earlier turncoats had escaped penalty (3.4, 7.4), the fate of Celsus illustrates the unpredictability of life under Tiberius Caesar. Junius Gallio's proposal was intended to ingratiate him with the *princeps* (3.3), but Tiberius chose to misinterpret his intention and ensured his punishment; conversely, when Messalinus Cotta's remarks about Caligula and Livia were used against him, he correctly predicted that he would be saved by his friendship with Tiberius, who on this occasion chose to argue that it was Cotta's opponents who were guilty of misinterpretation and that the man's remarks

[35] That is, 81% (as opposed to 85% for the narrative of AD 22); the next highest are AD 20 and 28, at 65%. See Ginsburg 143.

should be taken at face value (5.1–2). This sequence of events would have come as a surprise to Sextus Vistilius, who, having made an identical remark about Caligula, was removed from the *princeps*' friendship and forced to commit suicide (9.2).

Almost all of these twelve episodes feature the power exerted by words, especially those of the *princeps*, who, as is shown by his attempts at controlling the Sibylline oracles (12), always requires the final word. It is therefore remarkable as well as fitting that the centre-piece of the domestic narrative is the extended passage of direct speech which, introduced with a panoply of authorial comment (7.5), is put into the mouth of the *eques* Marcus Terentius (8.1–6). The subject of the speech is his friendship with Sejanus (8.1 'Seiani amicitiam'), which thus reverberates with the surrounding narrative, where friendships – with the *princeps*, with Sejanus, with friends – constitute a major theme (5.2 *amicitiae*, 7.2 *Seiani amicitia*, 9.2 *conuictu principis*, 9.3 *amicitiae*, 10.2 *familiarium*). Terentius not only defends his friendship with Sejanus (8.1 'fuisse me Seiano amicum') but aligns himself with the *princeps* (8.2 'Caesaris amicitiam') and argues that they are both equally innocent (8.6 'de amicitia et officiis idem finis'). Even more remarkably, his speech is greeted with universal approval and, in perhaps the year's greatest paradox, has the effect of condemning to exile or death those who had accused him (9.1).

As part of his effort at saving his own life, Terentius in his speech twice addresses Tiberius directly (8.3 'tuum, Caesar, generum . . . ', 6 'te, Caesar'); the address seems almost natural, given the overwhelming sense of the emperor's presence throughout the narrative, yet Tiberius was of course absent from the occasion, ensconced almost two hundred miles away on the island of Capri. Exchanges which appear to be immediate and personal (cf. 3.1 'uelut coram rogitans') were in fact conducted through the medium of long-distance correspondence, laborious, intermittent and subject to the delays and hazards of ancient travel. After the letter which despatched Sejanus the previous autumn, the senators must have been transfixed by terror as they awaited the arrival of each successive imperial missive, not knowing what it might contain (cf. 9.3 *contremuerantque patres*).

It is not without significance that, of the unusually high proportion of epistolographic material in Books 1–6 of the *Annals*, the *princeps* is the author or the addressee of most of it: 'Tacitus has made a deliberate literary decision to depict his protagonist as a writer of letters and to punctuate and illustrate his Tiberian narrative with those letters.'[36] The 'apogee of the epistolary narrative' is Book 6, containing roughly a dozen letters which are marked as such and another nine which are not thus marked; and about half of this total is to

[36] Morello 333.

be found in the opening narrative of the book.[37] The intensity of these epistolary exchanges serves to complement and underline the *princeps*' depiction as a tyrant. Letters from Tiberius are almost physical in their violence, striking a man down (3.4n. *isdem*) or scarring him with weals (9.4n. *datis*). Plato, to whose description of the typical tyrant in his *Republic* T. alludes (above, p. 83), elsewhere associates the tyrant with the written communication of threats and commands (*Laws* 859a): the tyrant is a distant and aloof figure, who depends on the written word for the maintenance of his rule. Plato's point is exemplified in the narrative of Herodotus, where to write 'is to enter the world of the tyrant'.[38] In Book 6 of the *Annals* it is Tiberius who acts in the manner of an oriental monarch (1.1 *more regio*), and, when he was succeeded by Caligula, the new *princeps* 'at first seemed very democratic, to such a degree, in fact, that he would send no letters, either to the people or to the senate' (Dio 59.3.1).

2.1 At Romae principio anni See 3.22.1n. and 3.31.2n. respectively for each of these formulaic phrases.

quasi recens cognitis Liuiae flagitiis ac non pridem etiam punitis Livi(ll)a had been married formerly to Tiberius' son (Drusus), and was almost certainly married to Sejanus shortly before the latter's death; her *flagitia* were her earlier adultery with Sejanus and her conspiring with him to effect the death of Drusus in AD 23 (4.3, 4.8.1, 4.10.1–11.2). These outrages had come to light (*cognitis*) and been punished (*punitis*) in the aftermath of Sejanus' fall in October of the previous year, but these events were described in the part of Book 5 which is now lost. The loss is particularly unfortunate since the present reference to punishment is controversial.

The *Fasti Ostienses* reveal that, on 26 October 31, the wife of Sejanus committed suicide; but unfortunately there is a lacuna in the inscription where the name of the wife should be (*VII k. No*[*u.*]| *Seiani se occid*[ ). The conventional restoration is *Apicata*, to which Bellemore has objected on the grounds (a) that the name is too large for the space available, (b) that there are chronological problems, (c) that Apicata was no longer Sejanus' wife, since they had been divorced eight years earlier: Bellemore therefore suggests that *Liuia* be

[37] Morello 344 and 351 n. 40. Tiberius' letters in AD 32 are mentioned explicitly at 3.4 (cf. 3.1), 5.2, 9.2, 12.1; their intervention has to be inferred at 2.4, 7.2, 13.1.

[38] D. T. Steiner, *The tyrant's writ: myths and images of writing in ancient Greece* (1994) 127–85, quotation from 128. Steiner's thesis has been modified by A. Bowie, '"Baleful signs": letters and deceit in Herodotus', in O. Hodkinson et al. (edd.), *Epistolary narratives in ancient Greek literature* (2013) 76–8, but he does acknowledge that the presentation of writing as 'something sinister and disruptive' is a 'predominant feature of the letter in Herodotus'.

restored as the wife's name (see 5.6.2n. *ille*). In her turn Flower has objected that, since this restoration has Livi(ll)a killing herself, it cannot be reconciled with T.'s statement here that Livi(ll)a's *flagitia* were 'punished': she therefore suggests (a) that Apicata is a *cognomen*, (b) that Apicata's *nomen* (unknown, but *Gauia* has been suggested) should be restored in the *Fasti*, (c) that Livi(ll)a was simply made to 'disappear' within the imperial household (Flower 169–82). The controversy is not helped by the fact that Dio, having stated that Tib. 'killed' Livi(ll)a (ἀπέκτεινεν), then says that he has heard an alternative version of events to the effect that Livi(ll)a was starved to death by her mother, Antonia (58.11.7). Bellemore had anticipated the objection that her restoration of Livi(ll)a's name in the inscription conflicts with *punitis* here: she pointed to various cases in Suetonius and Dio where the same persons are reported at different places to have killed themselves and to have been killed (263 n. 37). In T. note the case of Fufius Geminus, whose death he describes as execution but who is known to have committed suicide; the same is likely to apply to his mother, Vitia, as well (10.1n. *necataque* below). Also worth comparison is the case of Cn. Piso, whose suicide is described at *SCPP* 19 as 'self-punishment' ('ipse de se supplicium sumpsisset'). The arguments on either side are nicely balanced, but T.'s reference to 'punishment' does not seem specific enough to exclude suicide and hence to conflict with the restoration of Livi(ll)a's name in the *Fasti*.

quasi recens cynically reminds readers that the senate had had an earlier opportunity for vengeance at the time of Livi(ll)a's death; their returning to the matter now makes their actions seem all the more vindictive. For *recens* see 2.21.1n.; *flagitia punire* (again at 11.25.5, 12.64.2) is otherwise only at Plin. *Ep.* 10.96.2 (the famous letter on the Christians). On Livi(ll)a see *BNP* 7.740 [Livilla 1], Raepsaet-Charlier 216–18 no. 239; note also Sinclair, esp. 254–6.

atroces sententiae See 5.3.2n. (*atroci*).

in effigies quoque ac memoriam eius Such was the power of images (5.4.2n. *effigies*) that elaborate sanctions were taken against those of the condemned. These were the first imposed by the senate on a Julio-Claudian, and 'probably the first on any Roman woman' (Flower 175, with abundant corroborative evidence; see also E. R. Varner, *Mutilation and transformation: damnatio memoriae and Roman imperial portraiture* (2004) 93–5). The same had happened to Libo Drusus earlier (2.32.1 and n.) and would happen to Messalina later (11.38.3 and Malloch's n.); but see esp. the detailed instructions against the images of Cn. Piso at *SCPP* 75–82 (with Eck et al. 194–5, Bodel (1999) 47–50).

tamquam referret 'as if it made any difference'; but to whom? Most editors think that T. is making the cynical generalisation that, since the emperor controlled both *aerarium* and *fiscus*, the destination of Sejanus' property was

irrelevant (cf. 19.1). It is impossible to refute this interpretation, but Millar's belief that T. is referring to Sejanus – who, being dead, was past caring – rings true (167 n. 31); any cynicism resides in the implied contrast with Tib., who cared mightily about such legal distinctions (see *Ann.* 3, Index 3, p. 513 s.v. 'Tiberius, legalistic').

For the *aerarium* see above, 5.8.1n. and ref. there to Corbier; for the *fiscus* see Millar 189–90, 197–200, Brunt 134–62.

2.2 Scipiones . . . et Silani et Cassii It is not known who is meant: a P. Cornelius Lentulus Scipio (*suff.* 24) is mentioned at 3.74.2; M. Iunius Silanus Torquatus (*ord.* 19) at 2.59.1, M. Iunius Silanus (*suff.* 15) at 3.24.3 and C. Appius Iunius Silanus (*ord.* 28) at 4.68.1; L. Cassius Longinus (*ord.* 30) at 6.15.1 below. The plurals are rhetorical (as 1.10.4, 12.60.4) and, together with the uniformity of their speech (below), serve to underline the oddity of Togonius Gallus and his intervention. For another effective use of proper names see 3.66.1–2.

paulum immutatis uerbis *immutatio uerborum* and *immutare uerba* are often used, esp. in Cicero, for various forms of verbal substitution (see *TLL* 7.1.512.24ff., 513.37–53), but clearly this technical meaning is not felt here.

adseueratione multa Shackleton Bailey (64) complained that '*multa* is suspiciously flat' and proposed *mutua*; but the same phrase recurs at 4.19.3. The noun is liked by T. (7×), Quintilian (3×) and Frontinus (4×) but is otherwise not esp. common.

cum repente Togonius Gallus . . . per deridiculum auditur The man is not named by Dio in his version of the same story (58.17.3–18.1) and is not otherwise known: 'a low-born intruder. His nomenclature cried aloud an alien extraction' (Syme, *Tac.* 563, comparing Togius at *CIL* 12.1257 and Togiacius at *CIL* 12.3217 = *ILS* 6978, 3960).[39] His intervention is dramatised by the inverted *cum*-construction: its combination with a word such as *repente* (again at 4.1.1, 6.50.4, *H.* 2.54.1, 4.33.2) is not found in Sallust but is favoured by Livy (Chausserie-Laprée 587–8); the historic present is regular but only half as common in T. as the perfect (ibid. 571, 595). In our passage Togonius is the object of the senators' ridicule because he believed his proposal was in accordance with the *princeps*' wishes (below: *crediderat nimirum* . . .), but in Dio

[39] *CIL* 12 covers Gallia Narbonensis; it would add to the humour if, as suggested to me by Adam Gross, Gallus spoke with an accent (for the possibility of a 'Gallic' pronunciation see J. N. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin language* (2003) 191); likewise the Spanish accent of the younger Hadrian is said to have raised a laugh in the senate (*HA Hadr.* 3.1 'cum . . . in senatu agrestius pronuntians risus esset'; cf. Adams, *RDL* 231–3, 270). It is of course possible that T. himself spoke with an accent (see Adams, *RDL* 196–7 on Plin. *Ep.* 9.23.2).

the ridicule is authorial (58.17.3 ἕτερόν τι γελοιότερον ἐγένετο) and directed against the senators themselves (below, 3n. *ex quis*). For *per deridiculum* cf. Plaut. *Pseud.* 1058; also 3.57.2n.

dum ignobilitatem suam magnis nominibus inserit T. perhaps invites his readers to imagine the diffidence with which Togonius might have begun his speech; there is a not dissimilar move at Liv. *praef.* 3 'nobilitate . . . eorum me qui nomini officient meo consoler'. For the verb cf. Ov. *M.* 13.33 'inseris Aeacidis alienae nomina gentis', Plin. *Pan.* 37.6 'paene impie his nominibus inseri publicanum'. For the interruption of an inverted *cum*-clause by another clause, a phenomenon more common than alleged at *Agr.* 18.2n., see Chausserie-Laprée 584–5.

2.3 principem orabat deligere The infinitive instead of an *ut*-clause is most unusual but is favoured by T. (11.32.2, 12.9.1, 13.13.3): see *TLL* 9.2.1043.13–16, but not listing *Bell. Hisp.* 13 'missos facere loricatos . . . orabant', which seems to be the only parallel in other prose (K–S 1.682). Slightly different is the acc. + inf. at 11.10.4 (with Malloch's n.). For the archaising *deligere* see Malloch on 11.22.4.

Gallus' proposal of a bodyguard is repeated by Tib. himself at 15.2. Some other exs. of 'twinned motifs' in Book 6 are: 4.1 ~ 10.2 accusers gratifyingly experience a reversal of fortune; 15.1 ~ 46.1 Tib. debates first about his granddaughters and then about his grandsons; 17.3 ~ 45.1 Tib.'s generosity in a crisis; 19.1 ~ 49.1 cases of incest are followed by fatal falls. The classic treatment of 'contes géminés' in the *Annals* is Bacha (see 41.1n. *Per idem*).

ex quis uiginti . . . salutem eius defenderent Dio's account is very similar (58.17.3 προχειρίσασθαί τε γὰρ αὐτὸν ὅσους ἂν ἐθελήσῃ σφῶν, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἴκοσιν, οὓς ἂν ὁ κλῆρος ἀποφήνῃ, φρουροῖς, ὁσάκις ἂν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσίῃ, ξιφίδια ἔχουσι χρῆσθαι ἐψηφίσαντο), but he proceeds to ridicule the senators on the grounds that, since an armed guard already prevented any non-senator from entering the senate house, they were in fact defending the *princeps* from themselves. For the topos of the tyrant's bodyguard see 15.2n. (*utque*). *quotiens curiam inisset* is dramatic irony (see again 15.2 and n. *quotiens*); for *quis* rather than *quibus* see 3.28.2n.

epistulae . . . poscentis sc. *Tiberii* or similar. Evidently the letter in question was that in which Tib. had denounced Sejanus the previous year; Memmius Regulus (5.11.1n.) was the consul who had responded to the summons, but, by the time he arrived at Capri to escort the *princeps*, the latter had characteristically changed his mind about leaving and turned the man away (Suet. *Tib.* 65.1, Dio 58.10.2, 58.13.3). Togonius deserved senatorial ridicule (*per deridiculum*) and authorial sarcasm (*nimirum*) because, despite the evidence of this *volte face*, he was still taking the *princeps*' demand seriously.

By reminding us here that exchanges with the *princeps* had to be conducted by letter, T. is able to present the brilliant response below as if Tib. were actually speaking in the senate.

ut tutus a Capreis urbem peteret The typical tyrant is always afraid of leaving his residence to travel further afield (e.g. Plato, *Rep.* 579b, Xen. *Hiero* 1.12 οὔτε γὰρ ἰέναι αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλές, 2.8–10).

2.4 ludibria seriis permiscere solitus 'Tiberius mingled sarcasm with serious arguments. He produced his effects either by grave and elaborate irony or by a single and demolitionary aphorism. Tacitus approves the eloquence of the Emperor in terms that fit his own style' (Syme, *Tac.* 428–9). It will be remembered that, when the community of Ilium belatedly sent a deputation to commiserate with Tib. on the death of his son Drusus, he replied with a smile that he commiserated with them too on the death of Hector (Suet. *Tib.* 52.2 *irridens*). Here the *princeps*' mockery is directed at the senate and corresponds to the ridicule which the senate in its turn had directed against Togonius. The normal partner of *seria* is *ioci*, as 2.13.1, but T. regularly reports *ludibria* of various sorts (Plass, *WWH* 15–25); what follows is the longest passage of speech by Tib. in Book 6.

egit grates beneuolentiae patrum From these words it is to be inferred that the senate, despite their ridicule of him, had passed Togonius' proposal. Once again T. seems to mimic how Tib.'s reply might actually have begun. *beneuolentiae patrum* suggests an abstract honorific title analogous to 'Your Majesty' (for which see e.g. Brink on Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.258; K. M. Coleman, 'Bureaucratic language in the correspondence between Pliny and Trajan', *TAPA* 142 (2012) 195–8): interestingly *TLL* (2.1897.9–10) detects two exs. of this in Cicero (*Att.* 11.1.2 'salutemque meam beneuolentiae tuae . . . referre', 11.3.1 'hoc uel maxime tuae amicitiae beneuolentiaeque permitto'); Tib. is addressing the senate in the manner that one would have expected them to address him (cf. esp. Suet. *Tib.* 29 for this reversal). The striking hypallage of *beneuolentiae* (instead of e.g. *patribus pro beneuolentia*) is itself a form of *captatio beneuolentiae*. For the elevated *grates* see 3.18.3n.

honoribus perfunctos an iuuenes Strictly speaking, the only senators who could not be described as *honoribus perfuncti* were the current quaestors, aged about twenty-five; but Augustus had allowed the sons of senators to wear the senatorial toga and be present in the senate house (Suet. *Aug.* 38.2 'curiae interesse'): one such was evidently Julius Montanus in AD 56, 'senatorii ordinis sed qui nondum honores capessisset' (13.25.2), and some scholars think that he is the kind of *iuuenis* mentioned here.

sumentium . . . gladios It was forbidden to enter the senate house bearing arms (Talbert 157–60), as T. has already reminded us (4.21.2): given this

prohibition, the hyperbaton here brilliantly captures the *princeps*' sarcasm. T. adopts the same technique to illustrate the opposite convention of the barbaric Germans (*G.* 22.1 'tum ad negotia . . . procedunt armati'; cf. 11.2).

neque sibi ui*ta*m *ta*nti, si armis *te*genda foret Tib.'s *epiphonema* has something of the crispness and assonance of his other *sententiae* (e.g. 1.73.4 'deorum iniurias dis curae', 3.53.4 (n.), 4.38.2; Syme, *Tac.* 701–2).[40] The quasi-metaphorical use of *armis tegere* is Sallustian (*C.* 6.5, *J.* 87.2); slightly different at Luc. 6.202. *armis* varies *ferro* and *gladios* above (Sörbom 23); for *foret* rather than *esset* see 3.14.4n.

2.5 ne quid ultra abolitionem sententiae suaderet Madvig's emendation, which seems the best and most economical of those which have been suggested, means: 'lest he should advocate something beyond the cancellation of the proposal', i.e. Tib. did not want the senators to infer that they should take it upon themselves to punish Gallus (the contrast is with the fate of Gallio at 3.1–3 below); compare the difficulties which had arisen over Junius Rusticus three years previously (5.5). The passage is one of the few to provide evidence for the withdrawal of a proposal in the senate (see Talbert 260–1); *abolitio* is a technical term (*OLD*).

3.1 Iunium Gallionem L. Iunius Gallio was one of the outstanding speakers of the day and features frequently in the works of the elder Seneca (see esp. *Contr.* 10 *praef.* 13), whose son he adopted. He was a friend both of Ovid, who consoled him on the death of his wife (*Ex P.* 4.11), and evidently of Tib. also (Sen. *Suas.* 3.6–7), though one would not think it from the present episode (which is also in Dio 58.18.3–4). See *RE* 10.1035–9 = Iunius 77 (Gerth), *PIR* 4.334–5 no. 756, *BNP* 6.1101 [Iunius II 14]. Gallio's literary interests, like those of Paconianus below (4, but cf. 39.1n. *in carcere*) and Gaetulicus later (30.2n. *dum*), go unmentioned by T., yet along with Pomponius Secundus (5.8.1n.) these individuals formed a 'cluster of literary men around Sejanus' (Champlin (2012) 376–8).

ut . . . ius apiscerentur . . . sedendi Discrete seating was of great importance in the hierarchical society of Rome (3.31.3n.), and a famous law of the tribune Roscius Otho in 67 BC had reserved the first fourteen rows in the theatre for the *equites* (cf. 15.32): see *MRR* 2.145; Demougin, *OE* 796–802, 806. For the archaising *apisci* instead of *adipisci* see 3.31.2n.

[40] In the belief that T. regularly indulges in various kinds of assonance and wordplay (see *Tac. Rev.* 222–9) I sometimes (as at 6.3.1n. *quos*) italicise and underline lemmata, without further comment, to draw attention to possible cases.

actis stipendiis Service was 16 years, four years less than for a legionary soldier (1.17.5): see P. Herz, 'Finances and costs of the Roman army', in P. Erdkamp (ed.), *A Companion to the Roman Army* (2011) 306–7.

quid illi cum militibus sc. *esse*. For the idiomatic expr. see *OLD quis*[1] 7a.

quos neque dicta <nisi> imperatoris neque *pr*aemia nisi ab imperatore accipere par esset Tib. disapproved of anything which seemed to diminish his own *maiestas* (above, 5.5n. *imperatoria*), but the role of the Praetorian Guard was specifically to protect the emperor and his family, and it was the emperor's name which appeared on diplomas presented to Guard members (e.g. *ILS* 1993 'qui in praetorio meo militauerunt'): in general see M. Jallet-Huant, *La garde prétorienne dans la Rome antique* (2004), Bingham.

It is easier to see how *nisi* could have been omitted (in M its lettering is very similar to that of *im-*) than *imperatoris* written in error.

3.2 repperisse *pro*rsus quod diuus Augustus non *pro*uiderit The imperial assonance continues. *prorsus* is again used ironically at 4.2 below, 4.52.2, 15.6.2; for another ex. cf. Sil. 11.237 (so *TLL* 10.2.2160.27–8); the alliteration is again 'Tiberian'. For *prouidentia* as an imperial virtue see 3.69.1n., W. on Vell. 115.5; it was not esp. typical of Augustus, but it is characteristic of Tib. to appeal to his predecessor as an *exemplum*, as again at 12.2 below (also e.g. 3.56.3n.).

an potius . . . propelleret? The accusation levelled here by Tib. is elucidated by the charges brought against Calpurnius Piso in AD 20 for his treatment of legionary soldiers (*SCPP* 52–7): 'qui militarem disciplinam a diuo Aug. institutam et seruatam a Ti. Caesar. Aug. corrupisset, non solum indulgendo militibus, <ne> his qui ipsis praesunt more uetustissumo parerent, sed etiam donatiua suo nomine ex fisco principis nostri dando, quo facto milites alios Pisonianos, alios Caesarianos dici laetatus sit, honorando etiam eos qui post talis nominis usurpationem ipsi paruissent' (cf. 2.55.5). *discordiam et seditionem* (again at 16.1 below, *H.* 1.46.3, 1.84.1, 2.23.5, 2.86.2) is a Ciceronian coupling found also in Livy (9.14.5, 22.44.5, 34.49.10, 42.4.5) and Curtius (10.7.1); for *discordiam quaerere* (again at *H.* 1.51.3, 4.48.2) cf. Cael. ap. Cic. *Fam.* 8.11.3; for *seditionem quaerere* cf. Liv. 4.21.2.

a satellite Seiani Tib. is insinuating that Gallio had been imitating his patron, who, having gathered the Praetorians into a single city camp to provide himself with a power-base, had done his best to win over the soldiers' minds and hearts (4.2.1–2).

3.3 Hoc pretium Gallio meditatae adulationis tulit As *meditatae adulationis* makes clear, Gallio had thought that, by putting forward his proposal,

he would be doing the *princeps* a favour, rewarding the Praetorians' loyal service by enhancing their status; but Tib. chose to see the matter differently, as encroaching on his own sphere. It is very difficult to decide whether *hoc* refers back to Tib.'s speech, as Doederlein suggests, or forwards to *statim . . . exactus*, as other edd. prefer; the former is snappier without any loss of irony.

A similar difference of opinion arises in the case of Messalinus Cotta at 5.2 below (n. *neu*), though with the opposite outcome; and see 3.47.4n.

incusabatur . . . toleraturus The nomin. + infin. with *incusor* is rare: only 4.48.3 and Amm. 14.11.24 are listed by *TLL* 7.1.1100.16–17. For *tolerare* see 3.1.1n.

insula . . . amoena Just like Capri, in fact (5.2.1n. *amoenitate*).

custoditurque domibus magistratuum The technical name for this form of house arrest, to which Asinius Gallus (23.1n.) was also subjected (Dio 58.3.5–6), seems to have been *libera custodia* (Sall. *C.* 47.3): see Garnsey 147–9. Nothing further is known about Gallio's fate.

3.4 Isdem litteris Caesar . . . perculit Tib.'s first letters of the narrative year have become increasingly destructive. The first comprised merely *ludibria* (2.4); the second began with a violent rebuke (3.1 'uiolenter increpuit') and now inflicts actual physical force (albeit metaphorical, as 4.31.4, Cic. *De Or.* 1.40 'quem tu . . . perculisti'): for a letter as the agent of such force see Cic. *Fam.* 5.7.1 'litteris perculsos', Sall. *H.* 2.98D = 2.86.12R 'litteris nuntiisque . . . grauiter perculsi'; and it is useful to be reminded that Roman pens could turn into instruments of violence (Sen. *Clem.* 1.15.1 'equitem Romanum . . . populus graphiis in foro confodit', Suet. *Cal.* 28). See also 9.4n. (*datis*) below.

Sexti<li>um Paconianum praetorium The transmitted *extium* was emended by Lipsius to *Sextium*, since *Sextii Paconiani* recurs at 39.1 below; but the L. Sextilius Paconianus who we now know was praetor in AD 26 (*AE* 1987.163) is almost certainly the same man. In such cases it is always difficult to decide whether the mistake is T.'s or a scribe's (below, 4.1n. *ut*, 10.2n. *Vescularius*); but, given M's tendency both to omit medial syllables and to get proper names wrong, the error is more likely to be scribal. There is a similar omission in a proper name at 48.4 below. For the man's death in 35 see 39.1. See *BNP* 13.366 [Sextilius II 2]; Champlin (2012) 376 and n. 45.

secreta rimantem The verb, which in this metaphorical sense (*OLD* 3b) is favoured by T. (2.69.3, 14.57.1, *H.* 4.11.1), reminds us of the harrowing episode in 28 to which T. is about to cross-refer (6.4.1 'ut rettuli') and in which other henchmen of Sejanus sought to trap Titius Sabinus (4.69.1 'rimis aurem admouent'). Cf. also Sen. *Ot.* 5.2 'praeclusa rimari, secretiora exquirere'.

cuius ope dolus C. Caesari pararetur It is assumed that this matter (on which nothing else seems to be known: see Barrett, *Caligula* 27) will have been narrated in the part of Book 5 which is now lost.

Quod *p*ostquam *p*atefactum seems to imply that the plot was not generally known at the time but was revealed only now in Tib.'s letter.

***pr*orupere concepta *pr*idem odia** The language cannot be paralleled, but, since the verbs can be used of the formation and eruption of rivers and the like (*OLD concipio* 4b, *prorumpo* 2a), the image is that of a tidal wave or bursting dam (cf. 12.57.2 'uis aquarum prorumpens').

ni professus indicium foret A *lex de ambitu* of Pompey in 52 BC had guaranteed immunity to those who 'turned state's evidence' (App. *BC* 2.24), although it seems to be inferred from 39.1 below that Paconianus was kept in prison: see further 7.4 and 9.3 below. *indicium profiteri* seems almost a technical phrase (*TLL* 7.1.1146.53–5, adding Plin. *Ep.* 3.16.9, Suet. *Dom.* 17.1). For the archaising forms *ni* and *foret* see 3.14.4n.

4.1 Vt uero Lucanium Latiarem ingressus est This is one of the passages of which T., unusually (22.4n. *quippe*), had given advance notice at 4.71.1 (AD 28): 'ni mihi destinatum foret suum quaeque in annum referre, auebat animus antire statimque memorare exitus quos Latinius . . . ceterique flagitii eius repertores habuere; . . . uerum has atque alias sontium poenas in tempore trademus'. The man who is called Latinius at 4.71.1 is earlier referred to as a former praetor called Latinius Latiaris at 4.68.2 and is evidently identical with the man called Lucanius Latiaris here. What is to be done with this discrepancy? Since it is more economical to make one change rather than two,[41] subsequent editors accepted Beroaldus' suggestion of reading *Latinium* for *Lucanium*,[42] and *Latinium* became the vulgate text in our passage. Andresen, however, made the opposite change: observing that an L. Lucanius Latiaris is found at *CIL* 15.1245, he changed *Latinius* to *Lucanius* at 4.68.2 and 4.71.1 instead. Syme urged no change in either place: 'A historian might have something to plead in extenuation if he mixed up his Lucanii and Latinii' (*TST* 70).

Scholars hitherto have assumed that the Lucanius Latiaris of our passage is identical with the L. Lucanius Latiaris to whom Andresen drew attention (*PIR* 5.93 no. 346); he was brother of the Q. Lucanius Latinus who is known from the Fasti Capitolini to have been *praetor aerarii* in 19 (*PIR* 5.93 no. 347),

[41] The man is named a further four times between 4.68.2 and 4.69.2 but on each occasion is called simply Latiaris (which, in its Greek form, is also his name at Dio 58.1.1).

[42] The text of M reads *Lucanium*, but the letters *ati* have been written (evidently by Beroaldus) above the first two syllables.

and their father was the Q. Lucanius Proculus who was proconsul of Crete under Augustus (*PIR* 5.93 no. 348). However, the revised version of Andresen's inscription (*AE* 2010.449) now reveals that that man's name was not L. but Q. Lucanius Latiaris. We thus seem to have two contemporaneous Q. Lucanii, each with a very similar cognomen, and each (if the Latiaris of our passage is identical with the Latiaris of 4.68–71) a former praetor. Is it too much to think that we are dealing with one and the same person, a Q. Lucanius Latinius Latiaris or a Q. Latinius Lucanius Latiaris? Such polyonymy, which became increasingly common in the principate,[43] would explain why T. in our passage is able to use the names Lucanius Latiaris for the same man.

ingressus est is said by G–G 638a to mean 'assailed', but this is disputed at *TLL* 7.1.1571.79–81, where the meaning 'start on' is offered. In favour of the former is the fact that *ingredior* can be used intransitively = 'to move with hostile intent', although there seems to be no transitive ex.; in favour of the latter is that there are analogous cases such as *ingressus . . . defensionem* (11.2.1), although there seems to be no parallel for the direct object being a person. As it happens, the Eng. expr. 'to start on' is ambiguous between 'to commence ~' and 'to assail ~'; perhaps the present passage illustrates a similar ambiguity in Latin, although Prof. Courtney prefers to assume that an infinitive has been omitted by mistake, e.g. *<incusare> ingressus est.*

accusator ac reus iuxta inuisi Cf. 4.28.1 'miseriarum ac saeuitiae exemplum atrox, reus pater, accusator filius'.

gratissimum spectaculum praebebant Both *gratum spectaculum* and *spectaculum praebere* are set phrases in many authors; it is inconceivable that T. wrote M's *praebebantur*.

ut rettuli At 4.68.1–71.1. Cross-references so worded are used by T. 7× in the *Annals* (once with *supra* and once in the plur.); those involving a rel. pronoun (e.g. 6.29.1, 40.3, 45.3) are slightly more common (9×): see also 3.18.1n., R. J. Starr, 'Cross-references in Roman prose', *AJP* 102 (1981) 431–7.

praecipuus olim circumueniendi Titii Sabini *praecipuus* + gen. is very rare (Fronto p. 235.24–5 vdH², Apul. *Met.* 4.11.4), and the gerundive is unique (*TLL* 10.2.473.14–15). For Titius Sabinus see *RE* 6A.1569 = Titius 39 (Stein), *PIR* 8.83 no. 270, *BNP* 14.744 [Titius II 4]; Demougin, *PCR* 222 no. 258.

tunc luendae *p*oenae *p*rimus There had been three other *agents provocateurs* in the entrapment of Titius Sabinus (see 4.68.2); the chiasmus with the preceding phrase (A B-C-D ~ B-C-D A) emphasises the appropriateness of

[43] See O. Salomies, *Adoptive and polyonymous nomenclature in the Roman Empire* (1992), B. Salway, 'What's in a name?', *JRS* 84 (1994) 131–2.

Latiaris being the first of them to be punished. For other plays with *praecipuus* and *primus* (again at *D.* 32.5) see e.g. Liv. 26.48.5, Manil. 4.334–5, Plin. *NH* 35.44, Stat. *Ach.* 1.495, Quint. 2.15.1, 10.2.1. For the gen. *TLL* (10.2.1360.17–18) compares Ter. *Eun.* 248, but the meaning there is not certain (see Barsby's n.).

4.2 consules prioris anni inuasit See 5.11.1–2. For D. Haterius Agrippa (*ord.* 22) see 1.77.3n., 3.49.2n.; the verb (*OLD* 3) suggests that he is using language that the belligerent consuls would understand (see Ash on *H.* 2.53.1).

metum prorsus et noxae conscientiam pro foedere haberi Lenchantin and Borzsák retain M's *noxiam conscientiae*, which seems scarcely to make sense; Groslotius' emendation is secured by Sall. *H.* 2.87D 'at illi quibus aetas imbellior et uetustate uis Romanorum multum cognita erat, cupere pacem, sed *conscientia noxarum metuere* ne datis armis mox tamen extrema uictis paterentur' (the passage from which T. derives also his favourite *imbellis aetas*) and Liv. 45.26.6 'conscientia . . . noxae'.

4.3 manere tempus ultionis Although T. regularly omits *se* in the acc. + infin. construction (3.8.2n.), the presence of *se* in the next clause strongly suggests that *manere* is intrans. and hence that the meaning is: 'there was still time for vengeance'.

si qua discordes iecissent 'whatever <insults> the quarrellers had hurled' (*OLD iacio* 7; cf. 8).

Sanquinius Maximus e consularibus This is presumed to be the same man who was suffect consul in 39, replacing Caligula; the date of his first consulship is not known, although 28 was favoured by Syme (*RP* 4.122 n. 41). He was later appointed *praefectus urbi* and governor of Lower Germany. His death is mentioned at 11.18.1 (see Malloch). See *RE* 1A.2286–7 = Sanquinius 4 (Groag), *PIR* 7.64 no.179, *BNP* 12.956–7 [Sanquinius].

curas imperatoris For Tib.'s *curae* see 1.19.2nn.; here they are the 'anxieties' from which the *princeps* is suffering (*OLD* 1a), but by the end of the sentence he is the concerned doctor, prescribing *remedia* to cure the ills of society.

conquisitis . . . acerbitatibus Cf. Cic. *Rab. Perd.* 15 'uerborum acerbitates . . . conquisierit'.

statuendis remediis See 3.28.4n.

Regulo . . . Trioni The former lives on till 61 (14.47); Trio will kill himself in 35 (6.38.2).

4.4 inuisior The comparative (again in T. only at *H.* 1.12.3) is less unusual elsewhere than is sometimes said: cf. Cic. *Off.* 2.34, *Rep.* 2.48, Val. Max. 3.8 *ext.* 1, 4.7.4, Sen. *Clem.* 1.13.3 (quoted below, 6.2n.), *Ira* 2.35.4, Plin. *NH* 22.31, Mart. 7.21.3, Suet. *Tib.* 13.1, Just. 21.2.2, Amm. 26.6.8.

somno aut libidinosis uigiliis marcidus Haterius is evidently a *lucifuga*, like those described by the younger Seneca (*Ep.* 122). *marcidus*, only here in T. (as is *libidinosus*), is largely post-Augustan and frequent in verse; for *somno* cf. Sen. *Suas.* 6.7 'ipse uino et somno marcidus deficientes oculos . . . leuat', Plin. *Pan.* 63.3 'marcidi somno, hesternaque cena redundantes'; for *uigiliis m.* cf. Apul. *Met.* 3.20.4 'luminibus nostris uigilia marcidis infusus sopor etiam in altum diem nos attinuit' (Front. *Strat.* 2.2.14 'barbaris uigilia marcentibus'; Apul. *Met.* 3.17.5 'oculos . . . prona libidine marcidos').

ob segnitiam . . . non metuens Luxurious living was visible proof that one was no threat to the regime (see W. on Vell. 88.2; also below, 10.3n. *sapienter*). *ob* (3.5.2n.) + acc. varies the abls. above (Sörbom 85); for the archaising *metuo* see 3.10.2n. Remarkably, *crudelis* is only here in T., the third 'solecism' in the sentence.

inlustribus uiris perniciem inter ganeam et stupra meditabatur In 21 Haterius as consul designate had proposed the death penalty for the *eques* Clutorius Priscus (3.49.2). *inter* nicely suggests that Haterius had some difficulty fitting *pernicies* in between his bouts of gluttonous eating and illicit sex (cf. *OLD inter* 10); for *ganea* (3.52.1n.) and *stupra* cf. Cic. *Sest.* 20 'emersum subito ex diuturnis tenebris lustrorum ac stuprorum, uino, ganeis, lenociniis adulteriisque confectum', Sall. *C.* 13.3 'lubido stupri, ganeae' (the passage which T. seems to be imitating here).

5.1 Exim Cotta Messalinus . . . auctor For Cotta and his savage proposals see 5.3.2n. For *exim* see 3.13.1n.

inueterata inuidia is a Ciceronian expr.: cf. *Clu.* 1 (quoted by Quint. 4.1.36) and *Off.* 2.17.

arguitur pleraque . . . dixisse This is a much disputed passage. (a) Koestermann follows many older edd. in placing a colon after *pleraque*, which therefore becomes an internal accusative, with *C. Caesarem . . . dixisse* an acc. + infin. in apposition. If this punctuation is correct, we probably understand *esse* in the first colon and perhaps also in the second (although the latter is not strictly necessary): '. . . was accused of many things: that he had said that C. Caesar <was>, so to speak, of uncertain virility and that he had called that dinner the *nouendialis* [*or* that he had said that that dinner <was> . . .]'. In other words, no emendation is required, although Ritter, following Freinsheim, proposed <*Gaiam*> *C. Caesarem* ('that he had called C. Caesar "Gaia" on the grounds of his being of uncertain virility'). Yet, although *arguo* is found frequently with an internal accusative, it seems reasonable to argue that *pleraque* is not quite the same as other instances, which feature *id*, *hoc*, *quod* or similar (*TLL* 2.552.75–83). (b) Other scholars therefore understand *arguitur . . . dixisse* as a nomin. + infin. (as 2.50.2) and take *dixisse* as governing

pleraque, after which they propose a supplement, e.g. *pleraque <in> C. Caesarem* (Muretus) or *pleraque <congessisse probra in> C. Caesarem* (E. Courtney, 'Notes on Tacitus', *Ant. Class*. 60 (1991) 272). Yet no supplement is necessary if we interpret *C. Caesarem . . . cenam* as being in apposition to *pleraque* and understand *esse* in each colon: '. . . was accused of having said many things, that Gaius Caesar <was>, so to speak, of uncertain virility and, when dining among the priests on the birthday of Augusta, that that dinner <was> a *nouendialis*'.

incertae uirilitatis Some exs. of Caligula's passive homosexual activity are given at Suet. *Cal.* 36.1.

die natali Augustae Livia's birthday was on 30 January (5.1.1n. *Iulia*). Ginsburg (142) argues that the charges brought against Messalinus in AD 32 can therefore be assigned to 'a period shortly after' that date; from this she extrapolates that 'the arrangement of material in this year is a chronological one'. But there is no indication either that the charges were brought early in the year or that Messalinus' joke was made in the present year or even that it was made after Livia's death at all; indeed, unless we are to assume that Messalinus was merely complaining about the poor fare which the priests were being obliged to suffer, the likelihood is that the joke was made before Livia's death and was now being interpreted retrospectively as Messalinus' wish that the aged matriarch would die. Livia's birthday was being celebrated officially at least by AD 27 and probably much earlier (*Acta Fratr. Arv.* xxxiv*e*. 2; *ILS* 154; Barrett, *Livia* 159, 267, 272), and T. will later remind us that it was difficult to distinguish old charges from new (6.7.3). For a whole range of other scenarios and interpretations see Walther's long note.

inter sacerdotes Messalinus had assumed his augurate 'certainly prior to his ordinary consulate of AD 20, perhaps still under Augustus' (Rüpke 560 no. 827); for his colleagues in the priesthood see Rüpke 173.

nouendialem . . . cenam Evidently a simple graveside meal nine days after the burial of the deceased (see Watson on Hor. *Epod.* 17.48, Courtney on Juv. 5.85, Schmeling on Petr. 65.10) and clearly rather different from the dishes of grilled and pickled soles of goose feet for which Cotta was famous (Plin. *NH* 10.52). The reference may perhaps constitute a preparation for the account of Drusus' death later (23.2), which was drawn out over nine days and is one of a sequence of deaths in 33 in which food or eating plays a significant or symbolic role.

M. Lepidi ac L. Arruntii These two had been consuls together in AD 6, and they also featured as *capaces imperii* in Augustus' final conversations (1.13.2). See 27.4n. for Lepidus and 47.2n. for Arruntius.

***me* autem *t*uebitur *T*iberiolus *me*us** Cotta's punch-line is all the more effective for its chiastic alliteration, assonance (*me* ~ *meus*) and almost anagrammatic word-play. Affectionate diminutives and possessive adjs. feature prominently in e.g. the correspondence of Cicero (see e.g. F. Biville, 'The qualification of personal names by the possessive adjective in the *Letters* of Cicero', in *What's in a name?* (ed. J. Booth and R. Maltby, 2006) 1–11); here the presence of both underlines the depth of affection (as e.g. *Att.* 4.1.1 'Tulliola mea'), to which the emperor responds below (*amicitiae*). Our passage is misunderstood by J. S. T. Hanssen, *Latin diminutives: a semantic study* (1951) 114.

5.2 Eaque cuncta a primoribus ciuitatis reuincebatur 'and on all those matters he was convicted by the leaders of the community' (*OLD reuinco* 3). M reads *neque*, which, although retained by some older edd. and Lenchantin, does not produce the required contrast with *iisque instantibus* below. Most accept Jac. Gronovius' *quae*, on the grounds that *ne-* was inserted under the influence of the preceding *meus* and that *quae cuncta* is regular in T. (1.11.4, 4.7.1, 13.13.4, *H.* 2.35.2, *Agr.* 5.3); but, since it seems more likely that *ne–* has ousted a correct reading, preference has been given to Pichena's *eaque cuncta* (for which cf. *H.* 2.82.1). For *cuncta* see 3.18.4n.; for *primores* see 3.65.2n.

Nec multo post litterae adferuntur On 8 and 9 May 44 BC Cicero reported that three successive letters from Atticus in Rome reached him in Pompeii in six, four and three days respectively (*Att.* 14.19.1, 14.18.1) and that the last of these times was quick ('sane celeriter'). Cicero does not say whether the letters travelled by road or by sea nor whether all the letters travelled by the same route; but, since the distance by road is roughly 150 miles/240 km, an average speed of 50+ miles/80+ km per day seems incredible: *Orbis* calculates 8.2 days for the same journey in the springtime. On the other hand, *Orbis* calculates 2.2 days for a sea journey between Rome and Pompeii at the same time of year, although 2.6 days are calculated for travel in the opposite direction, which approximates to the time mentioned by Cicero for the fastest of Atticus' three letters. We do not know the method(s) of travel used for imperial correspondence between Capri and Rome, but, obviously, extra time needs to be allowed for the crossing between the island and the mainland. If the imperial correspondence travelled mainly by the more reliable but slower method of road, an average time of three weeks is perhaps plausible for an exchange of letters between the capital and the island and the processing of the letters at each end of the journey. For some other letter-times see W. W. How, *Cicero: Select Letters* (1926, repr. 1962) 2.135–6; and for various other speeds of travel see Malloch on 11.8.3.

uerba praue detorta The adv. implies that Messalinus' enemies have deliberately misinterpreted his words; for *uerba detorquere* cf. 1.7.7 'uerba, uultus in crimen detorquens' (of Tib.), Hor. *AP* 52–3 (diff. sense), Sen. *Ep.* 13.12.

neu . . . simplicitas in crimen duceretur Since *simplicitas* can evidently mean both 'frankness' and 'naiveté' (*OLD* 5, 4), it seems that the *princeps* (characteristically: 6.3.3n. *Hoc*) is practising what he has just accused Messalinus' opponents of doing: he has chosen to interpret as 'naiveté' a remark which they had taken as 'frankness'. For *ducere in* = 'to construe as ~' see Sall. *J.* 85.26 'ne quis modestiam in conscientiam duceret' (*OLD* 15a), not quoted in the indiscriminate list in *TLL* 5.1.2154.53ff.

6.1 his uerbis Similar phraseology is used by T. elsewhere to draw attention to the fact that he is providing verbatim quotations: 11.21.2 (*hisce uerbis*), 11.37.2 (*hoc . . . uerbo*), 12.21 (*hisce uerbis*), 14.59.2–3 (*ipsa . . . uerba*), 15.67.2 (*ipsa . . . uerba*), 16.4.3 (*haec . . . uerba*), *H.* 3.39.1 (*ipsa . . . uerba*). 'Once all these examples have been assembled it becomes plain that we are dealing with a particular, and restricted, kind of recorded utterance. It is always the case that when Tacitus claims to be offering *ipsa uerba* it is not a long formal set speech he records, but a single word (possibly an unusual one), or short sentence or two, pungent and illuminating' (R. Mayer, '*Ipsa verba*: Tacitus' verbatim quotations', in T. Fuhrer and D. Nelis (edd.), *Acting with words* (2010) 129–42, quotation from 133). Whether these quotations enjoy a different status from those which are not so introduced (such as the equally brief and 'pungent' example at 6.5.1 above) is unclear, and whether they are in fact verbatim at all is unable to be proved; but at least in the case of the present passage we have the corroborative (but not, of course, conclusive) evidence of Suetonius (*Tib.* 67.1), who offers the same quotation from Tib.'s letter with only the slightest difference (italicised below):[44] 'postremo semet ipse pertaesus, tali epistulae tantum non summam malorum suorum professus est: "Quid scribam uobis, patres conscripti, aut quo modo scribam, aut quid omnino non scribam hoc tempore, dii me deaeque peius perdant quam *cotidie perire* sentio, si scio"'. The fact that both Suetonius and T. have the same quotation suggests that they each derived it from the same earlier writer who relayed only this one sentence from the letter. The identity of this writer is unknown; presumably he was a senator who heard the letter read out, was struck by its opening sentence, and remembered it well enough to reproduce it in his work.

[44] There is significantly more difference in two other copies of the 'same' letter, that found in Sall. *C.* 44.5 and Cic. *Cat.* 3.12: see e.g. Dyck on the latter, and also Cairns 78–82.

Quid scribam is an extremely common refrain in Cicero's correspondence; sometimes it is coupled with *nescio*, to which Tib.'s expression is comparable (*Att.* 3.5.3, 4.16.6, *Fam.* 8.12.4 (Caelius), *Ep. Brut.* 1.17.1 (Brutus to Atticus)). The clause is the first of a clearly marked tricolon, after which the sentence becomes, if not quite 'incomprehensible' (Walker 42), then at least more complicated. The complication is a reflection of the author, as is also the case with the opening of Livy's preface: 'Facturusne . . . sim si . . . perscripserim nec satis scio nec, si sciam, dicere ausim'.

quo modo T. usually uses *quonam modo* in introducing indirect questions (G–G 856b): the only other exception is 2.40.3, where it is required by the repartee (Wölfflin questioned the text: see ad loc.).

hoc tempore Likewise Cicero to his family from Thessalonica in October 58 BC (*Fam.* 14.2.1): 'nec enim habeo quid scribam nec hoc tempore quicquam difficilius facio'.

***d*i me *d*eaeque *p*eius *per*dant quam *per*ire me cotidie sentio** Three separate elements here need to be distinguished. (a) *di perdant*, with or without the addition of *deae* and sometimes in the archaic form *perduint*, is an extremely common expression in the comic poets but is not restricted to them: it is also found in oratory (Cic. *Deiot.* 21), declamation (Sen. *Contr.* 9.6.7, 10.5.6, [Quint.] *Decl.* 18.10), Senecan philosophising (*Ira* 3.14.3, *Cons. Helv.* 10.2), and letters (Cic. *Att.* 15.4.3, Sen. *Ep.* 95.21). Another letter in which it is found is one written by Augustus to Tib. when the latter was on campaign (Suet. *Tib.* 21.7 ' "di me perdant nisi cohorrescit corpus meum"'). The object of the verb will obviously vary according to context, although self-imprecation is common. (b) The coupling of *perdere* and *perire* (the latter regarded as the 'passive' of the former), of which the most famous ex. is Cat. 8.2, is also common: see Wölfflin 270, Oakley on Liv. 9.14.15 and add e.g. Sen. *Thy.* 203, Suet. *Tit.* 9.1. (c) Although *peius* and *cotidie* belong to different clauses, it may be that Tib. is alluding to the proverbial 'cotidie peius!' (Petr. 44.12; cf. Tosi 358 no. 764).

Adeo 'So true is it that . . . ' (*OLD adeo*² 5). T.'s interpretation of the *princeps*' words is that his outrageous crimes had now resulted in mental torment, a notion for which he appeals to Plato's idea that the souls of tyrants bear evidence of their misdeeds; this idea in turn confirms his own portrayal of Tib. in tyrannical terms (above, p. 83). Suetonius' view is different but complementary. He sees Tib. as suffering from paranoia (one of the characteristics of the typical tyrant) and believes that this suffering was made worse by the open hatred of which the *princeps* was a victim (cf. *Tib.* 63.1 ~ 66.1); eventually this double pressure resulted in a form of despair (67.1 'postremo semet ipse pertaesus'), which found expression in his letter to the senate.

What do modern scholars make of Tib.'s words? According to Furneaux, 'Some of his apologists . . . explain them as self-reproach for having allowed

himself to be so misled by Seianus; others as expressing mere weariness of the burden of life and cares of empire, or of the terrors of this crisis'. F. B. Marsh speaks of an emperor 'overwhelmed with anguish and with suspicions of all the world', and expresses surprise that T. and Suetonius should 'construe these pathetic words as a confession of guilt on the part of Tiberius' (*The reign of Tiberius* (1931) 198–9 and n. 1). The psychologist G. Marañon makes surprisingly little of the words, merely referring to 'this high-minded letter, which really does honour to Tiberius' (*Tiberius: a study in resentment* (1956) 162). Koestermann believed that 'Der Brief ist zweifellos in einem Augenblick tiefster Niedergeschlagenheit geschrieben worden.' B. M. Levick has argued that the words are 'an expression of irritation deliberately muffled in comic language' ('A cry from the heart from Tiberius Caesar?', *Historia* 27 (1978) 95–101, quotation from 100), but her conclusion is rejected by Seager, who continues to believe that the words are evidence of the *princeps*' 'tormented state of mind at this time' (230–1).

Since the words are taken from a letter, it is not surprising that they read like a letter (*quid scribam*, *hoc tempore*); it is also not surprising that Tib. feels able to use to the senate a colloquialism which his adoptive father, to whose example he was famously devoted, had once used in a letter to him (*di . . . perdant*); besides, the emperor fell naturally into colloquial or proverbial expressions (e.g. Suet. *Tib*. 25.1 'lupum se auribus tenere', 32.2 'boni pastoris esse tondere pecus, non deglubere'). The assonance which we find in some of his other utterances (Suet. *Tib*. 57.2 'ut ex Pompeio Pompeianus fieret'; above, 6.2.4n. *neque*) we also find in the letter (*perdant . . . perire*). The manner of the extract, in other words, seems characteristically Tiberian; what of its substance? The alternatives posed by the tricolon of indirect questions seem not unlike those which Tib. must have asked himself when he skirted the coast of Campania (6.1.1–2 and nn.): should he go ashore or not? should he enter the city or not? The indecisiveness is archetypally Tiberian. Indeed the only feature which is difficult to explain, as T. himself seems aware (2 *quippe . . . fateretur*), is the emperor's decision to communicate his indecisiveness to the senate; this dropping of his guard suggests a man who has at last been broken by the responsibilities of an office which he had never wanted in the first place.

facinora atque flagitia See 3.50.2n.

ipsi quoque . . . uerterant Furneaux and Koestermann explain *quoque* as 'for him too', i.e. in addition to other tyrants; but, since tyrants have not yet been mentioned, it seems at least as likely that the meaning is 'even for him'. The intrans. use of *uerto* (*OLD* 21a) is common in T. (G–G 1757a); for the dat. cf. 13.37.4, *H*. 3.6.1.

6.2 praestantissimus sapientiae Scholars are divided on whether T.'s characteristic periphrasis refers to Socrates or Plato: since Socrates was proverbially called 'princeps ille sapientiae' (Fronto p. 48.6 vdH^2; see Pease on Cic. *ND* 2.167), the reference is probably to him; but it makes little practical difference. Socrates was regarded as Plato's mouthpiece by Quintilian (2.15.26 'Socrate, cuius persona uidetur Plato significare quid sentiat'; cf. 27) and presumably therefore by many others; see also next n. *praestans* is usually (and elsewhere in T.: G–G 1171b) constructed with the abl. (as Nep. *Tim.* 3.2 'usu sapientiaque praestantes'; *TLL* 10.2.911.63ff.); the gen., if we exclude such cases as Virg. *Aen.* 12.19 'praestans animi', is very rare indeed (perhaps only Stat. *Theb.* 1.605 'armorum praestans animique Coroebus'; ibid. 912.32–5). Twice elsewhere in the *Annals* (15.62.2, 15.71.4 'praeceptis sapientiae'; contrast 13.42.4 'philosophorum praeceptis') it might be possible to regard *sapientia* as abstract for concrete ('the wise', i.e. philosophers), but a partitive genitive ('the most outstanding of the wise') seems unlikely here, and the only parallel for the concrete usage quoted at L–H–S 748 is late (Tert. *Pall.* 4.10).

firmare solitus est, si recludantur tyrannorum mentes, posse aspici . . . Many scholars have identified *Gorg.* 524e as being the closest Platonic passage to this, but Ritter goes out of his way to exclude it (evidently on the grounds that it does not refer specifically to tyrants) and instead directs attention to *Rep.* 579d–e, which alone is quoted by Walther. Some scholars (e.g. Furneaux, Koestermann) mention both passages, since that would help to explain *solitus est*. As Koestermann notes, the latter point is denied by E. Norden (*Die germanische Urgeschichte in Tacitus Germania* (^{3}1923) 144), who regards *solitus est* as a mere periphrasis; but the idea of looking into the soul is expressed in both passages (θεᾶσθαι is the verb used in each case). Since this is the only occasion on which T. uses the word *tyrannus* in his entire *oeuvre*, it certainly helps to direct our attention to the *Republic* passage, which is part of Plato's famous description of the typical tyrant. Socrates is portrayed by Plato as the speaker in both passages, and in the *Republic* speaks in the first person.[45]

For the idea see also Sen. *Ep.* 97.15, *Clem.* 1.13.3 (both quoted below); Dodds on Plato, *Gorg.* 524a–25a. *recludantur . . . mentes* is one of T.'s probable borrowings from Silius' *Punica* (1.17 'fas . . . mihi superas . . . recludere mentes'; cf. e.g. *CCT* 37); the tense of the verb illustrates *repraesentatio* (*NLS* §284), and T. reverts to the normal sequence with *dilaceretur* below. *mentes* will be varied by *animus* and then *pectoris* below. For the simple *firmo* rather than *affirmo* see 1.81.1n.

[45] G. O. Hutchinson contrasts our passage with Plb. 7.13.7, where, also in a tyrannical context, Plato is named and *Rep.* 565d clearly identified (*Greek to Latin: frameworks and contexts for intertextuality* (2013) 227); but he perhaps goes too far in alleging that T. 'is *avoiding* reference to a text' (emphasis added).

ut corpora uerberibus . . . Cf. Sen. *Ep.* 97.15 'mala facinora conscientia flagellari et plurimum illi tormentorum esse eo quod perpetua illam sollicitudo urget ac uerberat', and note Cic. *Off.* 3.85 'hunc tu quas conscientiae labes in animo censes habuisse, quae uulnera?' (where Dyck comments that the passage 'is surely inspired' by Plato's *Republic*, not mentioning the *Gorgias*; see above, p. 83 n. 27).[46]

saeuitia, libidine This pair, earlier at Sen. *Ben.* 3.22.3, is one which T. appropriated in the *Histories* (2.73, 3.33.1, 3.45.2, 5.9.3) and then applied systematically to Tib. in the *Annals* (4.57.1, 6.51.3, besides our passage).

male consultis The MS reads *malis*, but *mala consulta* is an otherwise unexampled phrase; the usual modifier is *male* (as 1.78.2, Vell. 88.3, Plin. *Pan.* 70.7), and it seems likely that the word was wrongly attracted into the case of *consultis*.

Quippe . . . fateretur Although 'for' (= *enim*, *nam*) is the only meaning listed for *quippe* on its very many appearances in T. (G–G 1327a–29b), this meaning does not make logical sense here; the particle's other meaning of 'indeed' is required, introducing a statement offered in confirmation of the preceding assertion (*OLD* 4a: many exs.); see also 22.4 below. The hypothesis about Tib. which T. has put forward (*adeo . . . dilaceretur*) is confirmed by the *princeps*' own acknowledgement of his condition (*quippe . . . fateretur*): 'indeed neither his station nor his desert island prevented Tiberius from acknowledging the torturing of his soul and his self-punishments'. The meaning of *protego* is slightly unusual, but cf. *H.* 3.33.1 'non dignitas, non aetas protegebat quominus . . . '. *fortuna* and *solitudines* represent two different extremes: a *princeps* could not be expected to share his feelings with the lower orders; and the isolation of Capri should have acted as a deterrent to all communication. Yet Tib. ignored both considerations and wrote to the senate.

tormenta pectoris Cf. Sen. *Clem.* 1.13.3 'ubi circumspexit quaeque fecit quaeque facturus est et conscientiam suam plenam sceleribus ac tormentis adaperuit, saepe mortem timet, saepius optat, inuisior sibi quam seruientibus' (and Braund ad loc.).

7.1 potestate 'opportunity' (*OLD* 5).

Caesiliano The transmitted name is defended by Syme (*TST* 66).

[46] The emperor Julian goes one further and claims that Tib.'s *bodily* disfigurements are the result of his tyrannical behaviour (*Caes.* 5.5 Τιβέριος, σεμνὸς τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ βλοσυρός, σῶφρόν τε ἅμα καὶ πολεμικὸν βλέπων. Ἐπιστραφέντος δὲ πρὸς τὴν καθέδραν, ὤφθησαν ὠτειλαὶ κατὰ τὸν νῶτον μυρίαι, καυτῆρές τινες καὶ ξέσματα καὶ πληγαὶ χαλεπαὶ καὶ μώλωπες ὑπό τε ἀκολασίας καὶ ὠμότητος ψῶραί τινες καὶ λειχῆνες οἷον ἐγκεκαυμέναι).

eandem poenam Unknown.

Aruseium Otherwise unknown, unless he is the same man as mentioned at 40.1.

Sangunnium Also unknown; Syme is attracted by Nipperdey's emendation *Sangurium* (*TST* 73–4).

L. Arruntii Dio under AD 31 reports that Tib. quashed Sejanus' attempted prosecution of an unnamed man who is to be identified as Arruntius (58.8.3).

Quo non aliud honorificentius Cottae euenit, qui . . . aequabatur Cicero used similar words to describe the senatorial support he received against Gabinius (*QF* 3.2.2 'nihil umquam honorificentius nobis accidit'), but the similarity serves only to underline how very different our passage is. T. has passed comment on the despicable moral status of a couple of the recent protagonists (6.3.4, 4.4), but, though *synkrisis* is a natural vehicle for such comment (*Ann.* 3, p. 503, Index 1 s.v.), and though its basis here is the age-old relationship between morality and office (see e.g. W. on Vell. 128.1), this particular *synkrisis* is very odd indeed. It seems conceptually strange to liken a dissolute to a blameless *nobilis* on the basis of the identical punishment meted out to the failed accusers of each; and the comparison itself relies on that punishment being described, most unusually, in political rather than legal terms, a move for which *honorificentius* at the head of the sentence constitutes a metatextual preparation: although T. regularly avoids or 'distorts' technical language (6.10.3n. *decus*, 11.1n. *ne*), his replacement of (say) 'gradus poenarum' by '*dignitas* ultionis' is designed to imply that the punishment of *Caesilianus* conferred 'status' or 'rank' on *Cotta*![47] The description of Arruntius' behaviour (*OLD ars* 4a) is also odd, since T. only once elsewhere applies *sanctus* to humans (*H.* 3.39.2) or uses the superl. form (*G.* 7.2).

egens ob luxum For T.'s preference for *luxus* over *luxuria* see 3.52.1n. The expr. is chiastic with the next.

7.2 Q. Seruaeus See 2.56.4n., 3.13.2; the date of his praetorship is unknown. Syme suggested that Servaeus was one of those minor characters whose mere name revealed 'the forebears of senators known to Tacitus' and would be 'unmistakable to any contemporary' (*Tac.* 302). *Suffectus* in 101, four years after T. himself, was Q. Servaeus Innocens, whose cognomen, carried

[47] Although *gradus poenarum* is not actually found in classical texts but in the Severan lawyer Callistratus (Garnsey 103), there must have been some such expression in common use earlier, since penalties were in fact graded according to the status of the defendant; what seems almost certain is that *dignitas ultionis* is T.'s own invention for this passage.

also by the *suffectus* of 82, seems significant in the light of their ancestor's fate: it 'looks like a posthumous defence and protest' (*RP* 3.1053).

Minucius Thermus Not otherwise known.

inducti The verb is technical of bringing in a defendant or witness (*OLD* 1b), e.g. 4.28.1, 16.8.2 'inducti posthac'.

modeste habita Seiani amicitia applies to both defendants, as shown by *illis* below.

unde illis maior miseratio The significance of this reference to intensified pity will become clear when T. turns to discuss his own narrative (5nn. below).

praecipuos ad scelera increpans 'berating them as principals in crime'. *increpare* + predicative acc. (again at 12.1, 12.4.3, 13.42.10, *H.* 2.44.1) is peculiar to T. (*TLL* 7.1.1053.61ff.); for *praecipuus* + *ad* (again at 14.58.2, 16.14.1) see *TLL* 10.2.475.68–72 (Cic. Manil. Cels. elder Plin.).

C. Cestium patrem See 3.36.2n., Rutledge 213–14 no. 25; he becomes *consul ordinarius* in 35 (31.1). His son (*suff.* 42) appears at 15.25.3 as legate of Syria.

7.3 Quod maxime exitiabile tulere illa tempora, cum . . . The metaphor, cynically chosen, is one of bringing forth (cf. *copia* at 5 below): see *TLL* 6.1.553.13ff. and (metaphorically) 74ff. (cf. Brock 164 on 'sinister horticultural imagery' in fourth-century Greek literature). The meaning is 'and this was the most destructive feature brought forth by those times, since . . . ': the *cum*-clause generalises *suscepitque Cestius accusationem*, and the whole section *quod maxime . . . contactu* is authorial comment which interrupts the narrative of Servaeus and Minucius.

primores senatus Like *primores ciuitatis* (6.5.2n.), this expr. (again at *H.* 1.88.2, 3.69.1, 4.41.1; cf. *A.* 15.36.4) derives from Livy (23.14.7), for whom *primores patrum* is a variant (Oakley on Liv. 6.13.8).

propalam . . . per occultum This type of *uariatio* (again at 15.3 below) is quite common (Sörbom 95). For *per occultum* cf. 5.4.3n. (*exercentibus*).

neque discerneres . . . ab ignotis The grammar is in parallel, but the meaning is chiastic (for the substantival use of *coniunctus*, again at 1.62.1, see *TLL* 4.336.84–337.9). This idiomatic use of the second-person subjunctive is introduced similarly at 3.1.4 'neque discerneres proximos, alienos, uirorum feminarumque planctus', but, whereas here it is deployed to suggest an interpretation, there the purpose is to heighten a description (see n.).

quid repens aut uetustate obscurum For the change from direct objects to indir. questions see Sörbom 116, though this ex. is not listed. *repens* in the sense of 'new' (*OLD* 2) is peculiar to T. (see Malloch on 11.24.4). *uetustate obscurum* recalls Livy's 'second preface' at 6.1.2 'res cum uetustate nimia obscuras' (cf. also *A.* 3.63.2 'obscuris ob uetustatem initiis').

proinde in foro, in conuiuio The two locations are metonymical respectively for public and private (as Cic. *De Or.* 2.252) and together they amount to 'everywhere' (as Mart. 7.97.11).

M's *proinde* was emended by Rhenanus to *perinde*, which editors generally have adopted. But N. Holmes has shown that in his historical works as a whole T. is almost as likely to use *proinde* to express comparison as *perinde*. It is true that in *Annals* 1–6 *perinde* greatly outnumbers *proinde* (17:3), but this does not seem sufficient reason to emend the text; indeed the fact that this is one of only two exs. where *proinde* occurs without a correlative particle such as *atque* (the other is 4.17.1) suggests that it was less likely to be 'corrected' by a copyist to *perinde* and hence stands more chance of being right ('Perinde and proinde', *Glotta* 74 (1997/98) 59–75, esp. 67–9).

incusabantur is the main verb: 'whether they had talked in the forum or at a party, and no matter what the subject, they were accused.' The forum was a natural place for conversation (e.g. *Agr.* 43.1n.), but the *conuiuium* – ominously, in the present climate – typified friendship as well (e.g. Cic. *Senec.* 45 'coetu amicorum et sermonibus').

ut quis praeuenire et reum destinare properat 'according as each person hastened to get ahead and to mark out a defendant': for *reum destinare* (again at 14.60.2) cf. Plin. *Ep.* 9.13.7 (*TLL* 5.1.759.60–74). For *ut quis* (instead of *ut quisque*, as at 8.2 below), analogous to the use of *quis* after *quanto* (17.3n. *quanto*), see Malloch on 11.7.1; L–H–S 202–3.

infecti quasi ualetudine et contactu T. thus continues the metaphors of illness and disease with which he introduced this subject at 1.73.1 and 2.27.1: see *PH* 162–5. Surprisingly, the language here cannot be paralleled.

7.4 sed . . . indicibus accessere Minucius and Servaeus, to whose story we are returned by *sed* after the authorial comment in §3, thus adopt the same policy as Paconianus (6.3.4 above), who, however, seems to have remained in prison (39.1). Julius Celsus also tried the same manoeuvre (6.9.3, but cf. 14.1).

tractique sunt in casum eundem The same phraseology at Luc. 5.487 and Curt. 9.6.8 does not really help us to decide whether *casum* means 'peril' or 'disaster' and hence whether the pair managed to escape punishment (as was presumably the case with Minucius and Servaeus) or not.

Iulius Africanus e Santonis, Gallica ciuitate Africanus was father of a famous homonymous orator from Gaul (*D.* 14.4, 15.3), one of the best whom

Quintilian personally had heard (8.5.15, 10.1.118, 12.10.11). The Santoni were a Celtic tribe in southwestern Gaul in the mod. Saintonge along the Charente (*BA* Map 14: E3); it was a member of this tribe who in Tib.'s reign sponsored the amphitheatre of the Tres Galliae at Lugdunum (*AE* 1959.81).

Seius Quadratus Otherwise unknown. Lenchantin found this example of asyndeton 'paulo durius' and not unreasonably suggested 'Seius<que> Quadratus', a use of *–que* found elsewhere at e.g. 1.12.4 'Pollionisque Asinii', 6.38.4 'Tariusque Gratianus', *G.* 37.4, *H.* 4.11.1.

<cuius> originem non repperi The 'language of documentary inquiry', says Syme, who used this passage to support the argument that T. consulted the *acta senatus* (*Tac.* 282).[48] But one has to remember that statements of 'unsuccessful enquiry', of which there is a similarly worded ex. at 5.10.3 ('neque nos originem . . . comperimus'), are a literary device for enhancing an author's credibility (Fehling 102–3, 125–7, 168). For other exs. of *non repperi* cf. Plin. *NH* 27.38, 27.103, Suet. *Aug.* 2.3, Gell. 20.5.13.

originem non repperi is printed as a parenthesis by Koestermann, Heubner and Borzsák, but not by Lenchantin or Martin, who place a colon after *Quadratus*. Yet a parenthesis comes extremely abruptly and leaves unclear the precise status of the sequel (*neque . . .*), while an independent sentence seems wrongly to attribute an equivalent significance to Quadratus' name and to the omissions which are about to be mentioned. *cuius* avoids each of these difficulties. It was printed by Fuchs as his own conjecture, but according to Ursinus it was in a 'vetus codex' in the possession of Antonius Augustinus. The word could easily have dropped out after *Quadratus*.

7.5 Neque sum ignarus . . . incelebrata T. has already given us a long sequence of senatorial matters, especially trials (6.2.1–7.4), and he is about to give us more: the narrative of AD 32 has the second highest percentage of senatorial material in Books 1–6 (above, p. 94). He therefore interposes a brief programmatic passage which functions as a miniature 'proem in the middle', contrasting himself with other writers (*a plerisque scriptoribus* ~ *nobis*, both 'fronted') and promising memorable new material (*digna cognitu*, *ab aliis incelebrata*), as was conventional in prooemial statements (e.g. *Rhet. Herenn.* 1.7 'attentos habebimus si pollicebimur nos de rebus magnis, nouis, inusitatis uerba facturos'); for the apologetic introductory formula *neque sum ignarus* see

[48] Syme's point was that 'Tacitus could supply the origin of Julius Africanus – his son was an orator of note, and Tacitus must have known his descendants. But Tacitus could not thus annotate the name of the obscure Seius Quadratus.'

11.27 (with Malloch's n.) and Liv. 9.8.3 (with Oakley's n.).[49] It may be relevant that, to avert *taedium* (see below), Quintilian recommends dividing up the narrative with a brief transitional passage (4.2.49–50 'partitio taedium leuat . . . interim expediet expositionem breui interfatione distinguere'), and, although his example there does not involve prooemial material, an *interfatio* can 'assume prooemial functions' (cf. Lausberg 147 §311.2b). T. also performed the same manoeuvre in the narrative of AD 22, which has the highest percentage of senatorial material of all: see 3.65.1 and *Tac. Rev.* 86–103.

***p*ericula et *p*oenas** In the context *pericula* presumably refers specifically to the situation of being a defendant (*OLD* 3), as [Quint.] *Decl.* 266.3 'de poena tantum et periculo quaeratur eius qui accusatur'.

dum copia fatiscunt *dum* is causal, as often in T. (3.19.2n.), who here offers the first of two reasons why earlier authors had omitted many cases of *delatio* from their narratives. The productiveness of the times (above, 3n. *Quod*) has resulted in an abundant crop: *copia* refers to the cases of delation both in themselves and as potential material for historiography (there is a somewhat similar ambiguity at e.g. Sen. *Ep.* 88.35 'quamcumque partem rerum humanarum diuinarumque conprenderis, ingenti copia quaerendorum ac discendorum fatigaberis'). T. seems to be implying that earlier historians have been so overwhelmed by the sheer abundance of material that, unlike the author himself (cf. *digna cognitu* below), they have been unable to perform the necessary process of selection. (They themselves, however, might have seen things differently, claiming the virtues of 'speed' or 'brevity': cf. Lucian, *Hist. Conscr.* 56 'Speed is everywhere useful, especially if there is no lack of material; . . . indeed, a great deal should even be omitted.') For the verb see 3.38.1n., H. on *H.* 3.10.4.

aut, quae ipsis nimia et maesta fuerant, ne pari taedio lecturos adficerent uerentur This is the second reason for the omissions by earlier historians. Historians were supposed to aim for ἐνάργεια or *euidentia* (cf. A. Zangara, *Voir l'histoire: théories anciennes du récit historique* (2007)), the technique which not only brings actions and events before the reader's eyes but ensures that 'emotions will follow just as if we were present at the events themselves', as Quintilian said (6.2.32 '*adfectus* non aliter quam si rebus ipsis intersimus sequentur': see R. Webb, *Ekphrasis, imagination and persuasion in ancient rhetorical theory and practice* (2009)): the classic practical example was Thucydides, who was able 'to reproduce in readers' minds the feelings of shock and disorientation which were experienced by those who actually viewed the events' (Plut. *Mor.* 346f–47c), while Dionysius of Halicarnassus said that he felt a whole

[49] Similar forms of words are a mannerism in Tib.'s speeches (3.69.2, 3.54.1, 4.8.3).

succession of emotions, including pity, when he read Demosthenes (*Dem.* 22). The reproduction of pity is indeed one of the theoretical examples chosen by Quintilian (cf. *miseratio* at 2 above): if one's audience is to be moved to pity, the author of the words must first imagine himself experiencing the plight of those to be pitied (6.2.34 'ubi uero *miseratione* opus erit, nobis ea de quibus queremur accidisse credamus, atque id animo nostro persuadeamus. nec agamus rem quasi alienam, sed adsumamus parumper illum dolorem: ita dicemus quae in nostro simili casu dicturi essemus'). But *taedium* of all sorts amongst one's audience (see also above) was a constant danger and naturally to be avoided: Quintilian deals with *taedium* of subject matter especially in Book 4 (e.g. 4.2.22 'uarianda expositio ad effugiendum taedium nota audientis', also e.g. 5.14.30 'ex copia satietatem et ex similitudine fastidium'; Lausberg 125 §269; R. A. Kaster, *TAPA* 131 (2001) 143–89, esp. 153–4). Elsewhere Quintilian perhaps implies that historiography was a genre in which *taedium* was a special danger (10.1.31), and T. much later in the *Annals* will acknowledge the effect which monotonously depressing material can have both on himself as a writer and on those who will read what he has written (16.16.1 'etiam si bella externa et obitas pro re publica mortes tanta casuum similitudine memorarem, meque ipsum satietas cepisset aliorumque taedium exspectarem . . . '; cf. 4.33.3 'obuia rerum similitudine et satietate'). Here in Book 6 he is making the similar point that earlier historians were so affected by the repeated scenes of wretchedness with which they were confronted in their sources ('nimia et maesta') that they wished *not* to induce the same reactions ('pari taedio') in their readers and so they avoided many such scenes altogether (see also J. Marincola, 'Beyond pity and fear: the emotions of history', *Anc. Soc.* 33 (2003) 285–315, esp. 310–11). But, having thus neatly emphasised for his own readers the harrowing nature of the material with which he is dealing, T. characteristically uses this emphasis for rhetorical purposes, namely, to introduce an episode which is both unique to him and different in nature (8.1–9.1 below). See also 38.1n. (*Quae*).

nobis pleraque digna cognitu obuenere, quamquam ab aliis incelebrata The sentence is 'solemn and Sallustian, even did it not contain the word "incelebratus". Nowhere else in all Latin, save in Sallust's remarks on the historical tradition about Sertorius' (Syme, *Tac.* 283 n. 1, quoting Sall. *H.* 1.88 'multaque . . . per inuidiam *scriptorum incelebrata* sunt'). *digna cognitu* (again at Plin. *NH* 8.142, 36.72, Suet. *Aug.* 43.4, *HA Val.* 5.1, *Gall.* 20.5) implies the same reciprocal relationship between subject, author and reader as in *aut . . . uerentur* above: many cases were judged by T. to be 'worthy of recognition' and hence worthy of recording (*digna memoratu*: cf. *Agr.* 1.2n.); once recorded in the *Annals*, those cases will be found to be 'worthy of recognition' by readers in their turn. Though T. has elided his authorial role, which is to be inferred from *ab aliis incelebrata*, he is referring – not too obliquely – to the related topoi of

'selectivity', 'importance' and 'novelty' (G. Avenarius, *Lukians Schrift zur Geschichtsschreibung* (1956) 128–9, Herkommer 152ff., 167 n. 4, *RICH* 191 n. 17, Marincola 113); and, though he uses the plural *pleraque*, it may be presumed that he is referring only to the single episode which follows. Although *celebrare* can be used neutrally in the sense 'to record' (one of the only two exs. in *OLD* 7 is *H.* 4.83 'origo dei nondum nostris auctoribus celebrata'), it far more often means 'to celebrate in writing' (*OLD* 6a): hence the likely meaning of *incelebrata* here is 'uncelebrated', and the episode of Terentius at 8.1–9.1, being memorable for the man's *constantia* (9.1), is the only one for which that description is appropriate. For the commemorative function of historiography see 3.65.1n. (p. 454); for another occasion on which T. complains that a subject (Arminius) has not been given its due cf. 2.88.3 'Graecorum annalibus ignotus . . . , Romanis haud perinde celebris' (see also next n.). *quamquam* without a finite verb is largely post-Ciceronian and frequent in T. (G–G 1250a)

8.1 Nam ea tempestate . . . Martin rightly draws attention to the significance of *nam*: the following episode is illustrative; it is one which was omitted by earlier historians but whose significance T. recognised and is now passing on to his readers. The fact that the principal character is not known outside this episode supports the notion (last n.) that it is the only episode of which T. has special knowledge, that *pleraque* above is a rhetorical plural, and that the prooemial *infatio* (7.5) was designed to enhance the significance of the scene about to be described. Its significance resides in the fact that the speaker, uniquely, stands up for his principles (cf. 9.1 *constantia orationis*) and fails to be punished.

Since the same episode (including the same speech) occurs, albeit more briefly, in Dio (58.19.1–5), the question arises whether Dio used T. or whether both were using a common source. Since the consensus seems to be that on this occasion Dio used T. (Syme, *Tac.* 691–2; O. Devillers, *Tacite et les sources des Annales: enquêtes sur la méthode historique* (2003) 230 n. 154), the further question is whence T. derived his information and whether it came from the *acta senatus* (see Devillers 60 and n. 537). Before this latter question is answered in the affirmative, three points deserve consideration: (a) although ancient historians are frequently reticent about naming their sources, the elaborate preamble at 6.7.5 above makes it extraordinary that, if T. did use the *acta* here, he does not choose to mention it; (b) virtually all the episode is taken up with the defendant's speech, and it is generally agreed that such speeches will not have been recorded in the *acta*; (c) the speech bears a close similarity to one which Curtius Rufus (*suff.* 43?) puts into the mouth of Amyntas, who is defending his friendship with the aptly named Philotas, just executed for conspiracy against Alexander (7.1.19–40). It has to be said that *obuenere* (above), although naturally not incompatible with the serendipitous nature of research, does not positively suggest archival activity ('maxime de fortuitis', *TLL* 9.2.309.84). For discussion

of T. and the *acta*, including reference to our passage, see Talbert 326–34; also M. A. Giua, 'Discorsi e *Acta Senatus* negli *Annales* di Tacito', in AA.VV., *L'uso dei documenti nella storiografia antica* (2001) 551–60.

For *tempestas* see 1.3.6n.

amicitiam . . . amplecti Honourableness was intrinsic to friendship (Cic. *Part. Or.* 88 'honestati, quae maxime spectatur in amicitiis'), and much of Terentius' defence will rest on the implicit assumption that his friendship with Sejanus was honourable, as Quintilian recommends (7.4.4): 'defensio longe potentissima est qua ipsum factum quod obicitur dicimus honestum esse' (the latter passage quoted by E. Aubrion, *Rhétorique et histoire chez Tacite* (1985) 613). For the expr. cf. Gell. 17.5.7 'ut amicitiam non spe utilitatis amplectimur'.

M. Terentius Otherwise unknown: see *PIR* 8.18 no. 64, Demougin, *PCR* 239–40 no. 275. The obscure Togonius Gallus was treated ironically for foolishly believing Tib. despite the evidence that he should not do so (6.2.3); but the equally obscure Terentius – and an *eques* at that – is treated as a hero for standing by his principles, even though his *constantia* involved loyalty to the discredited Sejanus.

ad hunc modum . . . ordiendo *ad hunc modum* (again at 2.37.2) is a variant on T.'s much commoner *in hunc modum* to introduce speech (e.g. *Agr.* 29.4 and n.); the absence of a modifier such as *ferme* (which appears only at 3.16.2) naturally does not suggest that the speaker's words are authentically his. Direct speech is similarly introduced at Val. Max. 2.7.15a 'L. Marcius tribunus militum . . . senatui de rebus actis a se scribens in hunc modum orsus est: "L. Marcius pro praetore"'(*TLL* 9.2.948.54–5, 58–9). See also 6.6.1n. (*his uerbis*).

***Fort*unae . . . *fort*asse minus expediat** Other speakers too capitalise on this assonance, e.g. Cic. *Pis.* 71 'qui si fuisset in discipulo comparando meliore fortuna, fortasse austerior et grauior esse potuisset', *Sull.* 73 'fortuna in hoc fuit fortasse grauior quam in ceteris'. *minus* is effective understatement for *non* (*OLD minus*[2] 4a).

quidem . . . sed This is the first of several antitheses or similar in Terentius' speech: *et . . . et . . . et*, 2 *ut . . . ita . . . contra . . .*, 3 *quemquam . . . cunctos . . . meo unius . . .*; *tuum . . . tui . . . tua . . .*, 4 *quem . . . et quibus . . .*; *tibi . . . nobis*; *quae . . . cui . . . quis . . .*; 6 *et te . . . et nos . . .*

***a*gnoscere crimen quam *a*bnuere** Quintilian recommends two forms of confession (9.2.51): 'confessio nihil nocitura, qualis est "habes igitur . . . confitentem reum", et concessio, cum aliquid etiam inicum uidemur causae fiducia pati'. Terentius' confession, being scarcely without risk, belongs rather to the second category (Lausberg 383 §856); see also on Amyntas (next n. but one). For denial see Juv. 10.68 'numquam, si quid mihi credis, amaui'.

utcumque casura res est Amyntas says this both at the start and towards the end of his speech (Curt. 7.1.19 'qualiscumque . . . exitus nos manet', 37 'utcumque cessura res est').

fatebor . . . expetisse So too Amyntas (Curt. 7.1.26): 'amicitiam . . . adeo non eo infitias ut expetisse . . . confitear'. Terentius will end his speech on the same note (6); see also above, p. 95, and 5.6.2n. (*ob*).

8.2 collegam patris Sejanus' joint Prefecture of the Praetorian Guard with his father, Seius Strabo, is mentioned by T. under AD 14 (1.24.2). *regendis praetoriis cohortibus* is presumably dat. of purpose (3.25.1n.).

***m*ox urbis et *m*ilitiae *m*unia simul obeuntem** For ex., Sejanus played a prominent role in containing the fire at Pompey's Theatre in 22 (3.72.3), and he unified the Praetorian camp within the city (4.2.1–2). The phrase is quasi-chiastic with the preceding: A B-C ~ (B^1 *et* B^2)-C A.

propinqui et adfines honoribus augebantur *propinqui* and *adfines* (coupled 5× by T.) are more specific than the *clientes* mentioned at 4.2.3 'neque senatorio ambitu abstinebat clientes suos honoribus aut prouinciis ornandi'; cf. also Juv. 10.91–2 'illi summas donare curules, | illum exercitibus praeponere'. Sejanus' most prominent relation was his uncle, Junius Blaesus (5.7.2n. *cum*), suffect consul in 10 and subsequently proconsul of Africa; but the ramifications of his family are controversial and much discussed (Seager 227): for a stemma see Syme, *AA* Table XXIII.

ut quisque . . . ualidus Cf. Curt. 7.1.28 'ab illo traditi, ad hunc gradum amicitiae tuae ascendimus; is apud te fuit cuius et gratiam expetere et iram timere possemus'. T.'s fondness for constructing *ualidus* with *ad* (e.g. 29.3, 2.14.3, *G.* 4) seems imitated from Livy (29.34.4, 40.5.3); for *ualidus* itself see 3.18.1n.

quibus infensus esset metu ac sordibus conflictabantur *conflictari* literally means 'to be buffeted/struck' (as 2.20.2); one can be struck metaphorically by fear (though there are no parallels for the verb's being used thus outside T.) and by danger (e.g. 15.50.2), but here T. has substituted *sordibus* (*OLD* 2b) for *periculis* by metonymy. Unless the verb is significantly neutralised (e.g. 'contended with'), the expr. is zeugmatic. The passage at *H.* 3.16.2 is similarly unusual: 'metu et angustiis uiarum conflictabantur'. The subjunc. *esset* presumably expresses cause; for *infensus* see 3.15.2n.

8.3 nouissimi consilii Terentius accepts the view that there had been a conspiracy; but T. seems to have accepted it too (above, p. 67).

meo unius discrimine The juxtaposition is emphatic, as Liv. 28.28.12 'meo unius funere'.

Non enim Seianum Vulsiniensem . . . colebamus Velleius' extended treatmeant of Sejanus rests precisely on the latter's relationship with the *princeps* (127–8 and W. ad loc., pp. 245–63); likewise the self-defence attributed to Corbulo at 30.3 below. It is not difficult to imagine Sejanus' Volsinian origins being used as a term of abuse by his many opponents and critics (cf. 4.3.4 'municipali adultero').

Claudiae et Iuliae domus partem 'There never was such a thing as "the Julio-Claudian dynasty". Our modern phrase is a misleading anachronism' (T. P. Wiseman, *JRS* 72 (1982) 67, tracing the origin of the phrase to the 'rhetorical simplification' of Galba's speech at *H.* 1.16.1 'finita Iuliorum Claudiorumque domo'); see also B. M. Levick, 'Julians and Claudians', *G&R* 22 (1975) 29–38, S. Koster, 'Julier und Claudier im Spiegel literarischer Texte', in V. M. Strocka (ed.), *Die Regierungszeit des Kaisers Claudius (41–54 n.Chr.): Umbruch oder Episode?* (1994) 1–7. Here in Terentius' speech two houses are in question (cf. *quas* below): Sejanus' daughter had been betrothed to Claudius' son, Drusus, who, however, died shortly afterwards (3.29.4 and n.); and he himself had been betrothed or (more likely, as *generum* below suggests) married to Livi(ll)a, widow of Tiberius' son, Drusus (5.6.2n. *ille*). Sejanus was very briefly in the same position in which Agrippa and Tib. himself had been.

quas adfinitate occupauerat The verb is neatly ambiguous between legitimate occupancy (cf. [Quint.] *Decl.* 338.12 'domum senis iam et matrimonio occupatam') and violent seizure (as Cic. *Dom.* 147 'domo per scelus erepta, per latrocinium occupata', Sen. *Contr.* 2.1.37), the latter continuing the notion that the *princeps* was tricked by Sejanus.

tuum, Caesar, . . . tui . . . tua . . . colebamus The address and triple anaphora not only suggest that the absent *princeps* was present but also capitalise on the so-called 'Du-Stil', used in prayers and hymns to divinities (see e.g. N–H on Hor. *C.* 1.10.9). 'Caesar' was 'the standard address for an emperor' both in the senate and in (esp. poetic) literature: see E. Dickey, *Latin forms of address from Plautus to Apuleius* (2002) 100–1; cf. 313–14. *colebamus*, which looks all the way back to Sejanus' formal introduction at the start of Book 4 (2.3 'colique . . . effigies eius'), constitutes a reminder that he too received worship: he and Tib. had been the presiding twin deities, their statues on either side of the *ara amicitiae* (4.74.2 and n.).

tua officia in re publica capessentem T. had represented Sejanus as wishing for Tib.'s retirement so that he could control access and power (4.41.1–2).

8.4 tibi summum . . . iudicium An echo of a famous earlier crisis: Terentius is alluding to the passing of the *senatus consultum ultimum* on the occasion

of the Catilinarian conspiracy as described by Sallust (*C.* 29.3 'domi militiaeque imperium atque iudicium summum habere').

obsequii gloria recurs twice in Plin. *Pan.* (9.5, 83.7).

Spectamus . . . quae coram habentur 'we can see what takes place in front of our eyes'; this seems to be an ex. of *haberi* = *se habere*, as Sall. *C.* 6.3 'sicuti pleraque mortalium habentur'. The contrast is with *abditos . . . occultius* below.

quis *p*lurima . . . *p*otentia *quis* continues the series of rel. pronouns and hence is dat. plur. (3.28.2n.), *potentia* being nom.; this seems far more likely than that *quis* is nom. interrog. and *potentia* an abl. of description.

Abditos principis sensus A risky choice of words, given that this was one of the *princeps*' foremost characteristics (1.11.2 'nitenti ut sensus suos penitus abderet'); for the expr. cf. also Liv. 40.21.11, Sen. *Phaedra* 918.

inlicitum, anceps For this type of asyndeton see 5.7.1n. (*Tunc*) and ref. there to Malloch on 11.16.2.

ideo is equivalent to 'if you were to enquire' (G–G 547a).

8.5 Ne . . . ultimum *Se*iani diem *sed sed*ecim annos cogitaueritis Terentius here combines two general truths, that the most recent memory eclipses what precedes (this is Caesar's point at Sall. *C.* 51.15 'plerique mortales postrema meminere') and that injuries are more memorable than benefits (Xen. *Anab.* 5.8.25–6, Cic. *Off.* 2.79, *Mur.* 42, *De Or.* 1.129, [Long.] *Subl.* 33.3): see esp. T.'s verdict on L. Vitellius at 32.4 below. It is striking that Velleius, who published his work in AD 30 before Sejanus' fall, should single out 'these sixteen years' for praise (126.1 'horum sedecim annorum'). It is as if AD 31 came to be seen in retrospect as dividing the reign into two.[50]

Etiam Satrium atque Pomponium uenerabamur Satrius Secundus was one of the two 'Seiani clientes' who accused Cremutius Cordus in 25 (4.34.1); see also 47.2 below. See *RE* 2A.191 = Satrius 4 (Stein), *PIR* 7.77–8 no. 199, *BNP* 13.24–5 [Satrius II 2]. Most scholars believe that none of the Pomponii mentioned in the extant *Annals* is at all plausible as the object of Terentius' scorn and that either the man was mentioned in the part of the text now lost or a scribe has mistakenly substituted a more familiar name for that of e.g. Pinarius, Satrius' fellow accuser of Cordus (4.34.1); however, Champlin (2012: 377) believes him identical with the P. Pomponius Secundus of 5.8.1–2 (nn.).

[50] Scholars agree that Terentius' 16 years are AD 15–30 inclusive, i.e. excluding the part-years of Tib.'s accession and Sejanus' execution. Velleius' 16 years are likely to be AD 14–29 inclusive, unless he projected himself counting twelve-month periods backwards from some point within AD 30.

libertis quoque ac ianitoribus eius notescere pro magnifico accipiebatur Sejanus' janitors feature in the brilliant scene which T. conjures up at the end of Book 4: 'campo aut litore iacentes nullo discrimine noctem ac diem iuxta gratiam aut fastus ianitorum perpetiebantur' (74.4 and nn.; also Dio 58.5.2). In the letter to Sejanus which T. accords Tib. in the same book, the *princeps* is made to refer to 'illi magistratus et primores qui <ad> te inuitum perrumpunt omnibusque de rebus consulunt' (4.40.5). Cf. also Colum. 1 *praef.* 9–10.

Quid ergo? This expr. often introduces a question expecting the answer 'no' (*immo* below): see *OLD quis*[1] 14b.

8.6 Indistincta 'applied without distinction' (*OLD* 2). Terentius had taken it upon himself to speak on behalf of others, but only those who had had no part in the plot (3 above).

iustis terminis diuidatur *diuidere* and *diuisio* are used technically in various rhetorical contexts (e.g. Lausberg 62 §139), but here the presence of *terminis* suggests territorial demarcation, a metaphor sustained by *finis* below. The verb is used again of *defensio* only at 3.15.1, where the reference is to separating one person's defence from another (see n.).

Insidiae . . . consilia The reference is of course to Sejanus; the two phrases are picked up chiastically by *amicitia et officiis* below.

consilia caedis aduersum imperatorem seems at first a strange expression (one might have expected *caedendi imperatoris*), but *aduersum* is to be taken closely with *consilium* (as 15.20.4) and *caedis* functions rather like an adj. (e.g. Liv. *per.* 127 'consilia nefaria aduersus Caesarem'). The strangeness produces a further echo of the Catilinarian conspiracy (Sall. *C.* 18.6 'consilium caedis').

de amicitia . . . absoluerit The end of the speech echoes and modifies the beginning (1): 'utcumque casura res est, . . . me Seiano amicum'. *absoluerit* is a rare example of what Carmody calls the 'volitive' perfect subjunctive, which she distinguishes from the optative use as follows (34): 'in an expression of volition, the speaker feels that the attainment of his desire lies within his power; while in an expression of wish, he recognises his helplessness to bring about its attainment'. The meaning is 'the same end should absolve . . . '. Other exs. cited by Carmody (29) are either negative (4.32.1 'nemo . . . contenderit', 'let no one compare . . . ') or the common *uiderint* (16.31.2). Some (e.g. Martin) interpret as fut. perf.; the same issue arises at *H.* 2.47.2 'reliquerit'. *finis* maintains the metaphor from boundary-stones which was initiated by *terminis* above: cf. e.g. Cic. *Amic.* 56 'constituendi autem sunt qui sint in amicitia fines et quasi termini diligendi'.

9.1 Constantia orationis et quia repertus erat qui efferret . . . eo usque potuere ut accusatores . . . multarentur *constantia* refers not so much to the speech as to the character or views of the speaker; *orationis* is almost a form of metonymy (see also below, 10.3n. *rarum*). *constantia* has numerous shades of meaning listed in *OLD*, most of them relevant here: 'maintenance of the same attitude or conduct', 'fearlessness', 'firmness of character', 'consistency in opinions or statements' (see also Hellegouarc'h 284–5, Weische 48–9). The expr. seems paralleled only at Cic. *Att.* 12.40.3. *quia* = 'the fact that', an uncommon meaning in classical Latin (*OLD* 5a; K–S 2.271, L–H–S 586); a good (perhaps the best) parallel is Hor. *S.* 1.9.50–1 ' "nil mi officit", inquam, | "ditior hic aut est quia doctior"'. The *uariatio* of noun ~ clause is common in T., although neither this ex. nor any like it is quoted in Sörbom 113ff. *efferre* = 'to put into words', 'express' (*OLD* 7b); *eo usque potuere ut* = 'had so very great an effect that . . . ' (*OLD possum* 8b, quoting this passage).

quae ante deliquerant Since we do not know who Terentius' accusers were, we do not know to what T. is referring. For the internal acc. see *OLD* 3a.

exilio aut morte The alternatives typify the fates of those living under tyranny (Plato, *Rep.* 566a ἀνδηλατῆ καὶ ἀποκτεινύῃ). Dio says merely that Terentius' accusers were 'rebuked' (58.19.5).

9.2 Sex. Vistilium praetorium This person is assumed to be (a) father of the Vistilia, 'praetoria familia genita', who in 19 was banished to the island of Seriphos (2.85.2–3, on which see T. A. McGinn, 'The SC from Larinum and the repression of adultery at Rome', *ZPE* 93 (1992) 280ff.); (b) brother of the polyandrous and possibly prolific Vistilia (5.8.1n. *Pomponio*). See Syme, *TST* 75–6, *RP* 2.810–11.

quem . . . percarum in cohortem suam transtulerat That is, after Drusus' death in 9 BC Tib. arranged for the man's transfer from his brother's entourage (*OLD cohors* 5) to his own, of whose composition a dozen or so years earlier we are given a glimpse by Horace (*Ep.* 1.3.6 'quid studiosa cohors operum struit?', 1.8.2). *percarus* is a rare adj., occurring once each in Ter., Sall. and Cic., twice each in the elder Plin. and Just., but three times in the *Annals* (again at 2.74.2, 13.19.2).

seu . . . siue . . . *quod* ('the fact that') has to be supplied with each alternative.

seu composuerat . . . ut impudicum *impudicitia* (see 5.3.2n. *amores*) is the same accusation as was levelled against Caligula by Messalinus Cotta (6.5.1 above); yet Cotta came to no harm. *ut* = 'as being' (*OLD* 10).

siue *ficto* habita *fides* That is, Vistilius was falsely accused of having impugned Caligula, but the accusation was believed. Similar pithiness at Petr. 97.9 'ut fidem haberent fictae preces'.

conuictu *pr*incipis *pr*ohibitus See 3.12.2n.

cum senili manu ferrum temptauisset, obligat uulnus; precatusque per codicillos, inmiti rescripto uenas resoluit *obligat uenas*, the emended version of the transmitted *oblegatu uenas*, is printed by numerous editors (e.g. Furneaux, Fisher, Koestermann, Heubner and Borzsák) but does nothing to solve the difficulties with which this passage is beset.

(1) The most glaring problem is the repetition of *uenas* within half a dozen words. Ritter deleted the second *uenas* on the grounds that the repetition was intolerable, and he was followed by Koestermann and Heubner; *uenas* is retained, however, by Furneaux, Fisher and Borzsák, of whom the last defends the repetition by referring to J. N. Adams, 'Were the later books of Tacitus' *Annals* revised?', *RhM* 117 (1974) 323–33, where various types of verbal repetition are discussed. Adams in his turn refers to J. Müller, *Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung des Cornelius Tacitus*, Parts 3–4 (1873, 1875), who quotes our passage and compares Liv. 6.1.1 and 6.3.7 (Pt. 3, pp. 36–7; Pt. 4, p. 14 and n. 2); yet Oakley ad locc., who devotes an appendix to iteration in Livy (1997: 725–7), agrees with Kraus in emending the first of these instances but not the second (which can be seen as pointed: cf. Kraus ad loc.), thereby illustrating the general truth that the offensiveness or otherwise of repetitions is often in the eye of the beholder. (2) Several years ago I suggested emending the second *uenas* to *uincla* (2005: 324): the meaning 'fastenings' or 'bandages' is found at 12.47.3 and often in Celsus (e.g. 7.22.2, 8.5.6); *uinc(u)la resoluere* is a regular expression; and the emendation has the secondary advantage of giving *resoluere* its usual meaning of 'undo' or 'open' (as at 48.3 below) instead of the otherwise unparalleled 're-open' which would be required if its object were *uenas*. But this emendation takes no account of the problem raised by *senili manu*. (3) The clause *cum . . . temptauisset* implies that Vistilius' attempt at suicide failed because of his advanced age, while *obligat uenas* implies that his method of self-destruction was slicing the veins in his arms; but this is very odd, since physical frailty is no obstacle to cutting open one's veins: it is stabbing oneself that is likely to prove difficult for an old man. This was one of the reasons which led H. Friis Johansen to emend the first *uenas* to *uulnus* ('The end of Sex. Vistilius', *C&M* 24 (1963) 80–5): *uenas* would have been written in a mistaken anticipation of its occurrence later in the passage; *uulnus obligare* is a regular phrase (again at 12.51.4); and the problem of the repeated *uenas* disappears. (4) Friis Johansen's emendation also deals with another problem. It would have taken a considerable time for Vistilius' plea ('precatus') to reach Tib. and for the emperor's reply ('inmiti rescripto') to reach Vistilius (see above, 6.5.2n. *nec*). It seems quite implausible that in the intervening period Vistilius did not die from infection (perhaps like P. Vitellius at 5.8.2n. *uitamque*), unless the wound was very superficial; but, if the wound was superficial, re-opening it would not have killed him. To conclude: Vistilius tried to stab himself but, on failing

to do it properly, bound up his wound and wrote to Tib. for mercy; when Tib.'s unforgiving reply was received, the old man opened the veins in his arms.

9.3 Aceruatim is translated as 'all together' in *OLD* (3), but the idea of heaping up is surely present (cf. 19.2 'iacuit immensa strages . . . aggerati'). Adverbs in *–tim* are common in early Latin (J. Briscoe, 'The language and style of the fragmentary republican historians', in Reinhardt et al. 55), and Gellius (12.15) remarked on their frequency in Sisenna; as it happens, *aceruatim* is not common in Latin at all, and its earliest appearance is Lucr. 6.1263 'confertos ita aceruatim mors accumulabat', but its relative scarcity makes it all the more powerful here.

Annius Pollio Scholars are uncertain whether this is the same man who is mentioned as a *consul suffectus* in *CIL* 6.14221. See *RE* 1.2277 = Annius 72 (v. Rohden), *PIR* 1.115 no. 677, *BNP* 1.708 [Annius II 11]; also below.

Appius Silanus C. Appius Iunius Silanus, son of the consul of AD 10, was *ordinarius* in 28 (4.68.1). He subsequently governed Hispania Tarraconensis but was killed shortly after marrying Domitia Lepida, mother-in-law of the emperor Claudius (Dio 60.14.3–4). See *RE* 10.1085–7 = Iunius 155 (Hohl), *PIR* 4.3.347–8 no. 822, *BNP* 1.900 [Appius II 4]; Syme, *AA* Table XIII.

Scauro Mamerco Mamercus Aemilius Scaurus (1.13.4n.) was suffect in 21; elsewhere (Sen. *Ben.* 4.31.4) he is linked with Annius Pollio because he propositioned him (see further 29.2n. *insignis*). For prepositional *simul* see 3.64.3n.

Sabino Caluisio C. Calvisius Sabinus, son of the consul of 4 BC, was *ordinarius* in 26 (4.46.1) and later governed Pannonia; after returning to Rome he was charged in 39 and together with his wife committed suicide (Dio 59.18.4). See *RE* 3.1412–13 = Calvisius 15 (Groag), *PIR* 3.85 no. 354, *BNP* 2.1006 [Calvisius 8].

Vinicianus L. Annius Vinicianus, *frater Arualis* from 38, in 41 played a leading role in the plot against Caligula, under whom he may have been consul. See *RE* 1.2310 = Annius 99 (v. Rohden), *PIR* 1.125–6 no. 701, *BNP* 1.709 [Annius II 20]; Rüpke 531 no. 626. His father, Annius Pollio (above), was married to a sister of M. Vinicius, the consul of 30 and dedicatee of Velleius Paterculus (15.1n. *L. Cassium*). There is a stemma at *RE* 1.2277–8.

clari genus The combination of an adj. with an acc. noun such as *genus* (e.g. again at Stat. *Silv.* 4.8.3 'clari genus') is first found in Virgil (e.g. *Aen.* 5.285 'Cressa genus'; Eden on 8.114) and is an extension of the usage whereby the acc. is used of parts of the body, which is also first found in Virgil (e.g. *Aen.* 12.5 'saucius . . . pectus' with Tarrant's n.). Both constructions imitate Greek

idiom, and the acc. is variously called 'Greek', 'of respect', or 'limiting', and T. is the first prose author in whom these combinations are found (e.g. *G.* 17.2 'nudae bracchia et lacertos'). See E. Courtney, 'The "Greek" accusative', *CJ* 99 (2004) 425–31, esp. 430. A related but much commoner construction is the so-called 'adverbial accusative', featuring a neuter plural adj. (as 12.3.2 'iuuenem . . . alia clarum'): see K–S 1.286–7.

et quidem summis honoribus The transmitted *et quidam* seems unlikely to be right, since, as is implied below ('tot inlustrium uirorum'), all the listed individuals qualified to be described in terms of the highest honours. Nipperdey emended to *atque idem*, but this idiomatic use of *idem* is generally employed to draw attention to some apparent contradiction between two statements, which is the opposite of the case here: high birth and the highest honours complement each other. Something like *atque clari* is ruled out because, except in anaphora, repeated adjs. are not in T.'s manner. Becher suggested *et quidem* ('distinguished in lineage and in fact men of the highest honours too'); for this 'extending' use of *quidem*, again at *G.* 44.3, see Solodow 110ff.

***a*dfinitatis aut *a*micitiae** For this pair cf. *Agr.* 44.4 (n.), Cic. *Quinct.* 53, *Fin.* 5.65, Val. Max. 4.2.3, Sen. *Ben.* 6.3.2, Suet. *Aug.* 48, Gell. 12.8.3.

Celsus urbanae cohortis tribunus, tum inter indices Celsus is presumably to be identified with the 'Iulius Celsus tribunus' who commits a dramatic suicide in custody at 14.1 below; his lack of further identification in our passage may perhaps mean that he was previously mentioned in a part of the narrative which is now lost. *tum* may contrast with an earlier reference to his having been charged, but equally it may be a proleptic anticipation of his death at the end of the year: it is impossible to know. Presumably Celsus, like Sextilius Paconianus (6.3.4) and Minucius and Servaeus (6.7.4), had turned informer in an effort at saving his own skin.

discrimini exemisset An expr. seemingly coined by T. (4×) and taken up by Amm. (*TLL* 5.2.1499.77–8).

9.4 ut ipse . . . nosceret The verb ('examine judicially': *OLD* 3b) is simple for *cognosco*, as again at 12.60.2, *H.* 2.10.1, Liv. 30.24.4.

datis . . . in Scaurum tristibus notis Scaurus had first antagonised Tib. when he made an undiplomatic remark in the accession debate (1.13.4), and his words will again get him into trouble, ensuring his death, in 34 (29.3–4 below). *notis* is taken as 'hints' or 'suggestions' in *OLD* (8b), but, given the frequency with which letters are agents of metaphorical harm (above, 6.3.4n. *Isdem*, and many exs. at 3.44.3n.), there is perhaps the notion of 'inflicting

grim weals on Scaurus' (cf. 11.36.1 'uerberum notas';[51] *OLD nota* 9a, *tristis* 5a). For the notion of 'tongue-lashing' see Hor. *C.* 3.12.3 'uerbera linguae'; *OLD uerbero* 1b. There is a related metaphor whereby the lashings were imagined as writing on the unfortunate victim's back: Plaut. *Pseud.* 545 'stilis me totum usque ulmeis conscribito', Catull. 25.10–11. A similarly ambiguous passage to ours is perhaps Phaedr. 1.3.11, where *tristem sustinuit notam* refers primarily to the stigma of disgrace but may also refer to the effects of the physical abuse just suffered (line 9: *rostris* and *male mulcatus*). At Liv. 4.29.6 *tristis nota* refers to a disgraceful *cognomen*.

10.1 Ne feminae quidem . . . incusabantur Prohibitions on mourning are attested for as early as the third century BC (Front. *Strat.* 4.1.38), and the women relatives of Cn. Piso were forbidden to mourn him (*SCPP* 73–4 'ne quis luctus mortis eius causa a feminis quibus is more maiorum . . . lugendus esset susciperetur', with Eck et al. 192–4, Bodel (1999) 45–7); but it was also a characteristic of the tyrant to prohibit mourning: see esp. Cic. *Pis.* 18 'quis hoc fecit ulla in Scythia tyrannus ut eos quos luctu adficeret lugere non sineret?' (and Nisbet's n.), *Sest.* 32 'quis tyrannus miseros lugere uetuit?', Sen. *Contr.* 3.8 'misero si flere non licet, magis flendum est'. The theme will be resumed in the following year (19.3 'neque . . . inlacrimare . . . diutius dabatur') and is also found at Suet. *Tib.* 61.2 'interdictum ne capite damnatos propinqui lugerent'. T.'s *feminae* is a rhetorical plural, since he offers only the single example of Vitia (*-que* below is epexegetic, 'to be precise': *OLD* 6a). As the variety of conjectures shows, it is impossible to know exactly what T. wrote here.

***nec*ataque est anus Vitia . . . quod *fi*lii *nec*em *fl*euisset** Vitia's fate is what one would expect of barbarians (cf. 12.47.5 'filii quoque Mithridatis, quod caedibus parentum inlacrimauerant, trucidati sunt'), but the etymological wordplay – as lapidary as any epitaph – ironically suggests a punishment which is not only talionic but as justifiable as her son's death (for *necare* and *nex* as terms for execution see J. N. Adams, 'Two Latin words for "kill"', *Glotta* 51 (1973) 280–90, 'The uses of *neco* I', *Glotta* 68 (1990) 230–55, 'The uses of *neco* II', *Glotta* 69 (1991) 121, concluding that in Tacitus the verb 'is used exclusively of execution'). Wills (327–8) notes that the resumption of a verb by a verbal noun is as old as Homer (e.g. *Il.* 18.200–1) but rare in Latin prose.

Fufius Geminus was the consul of 29 to whose relationship with Livia Augusta the *princeps* had taken ominous exception: he had been forced to commit suicide in 30, evidently regarded as equivalent to execution (5.1.1n.

[51] The evidence for branding slaves and others in the Roman world is scarce and inconclusive (see C. P. Jones, '*Stigma*: tattooing and branding in Graeco-Roman antiquity', *JRS* 77 (1987) 153–4); the metaphor at Suet. *DJ* 73 is likely to be that of tattooing ('sibi uersiculis de Mamurra perpetua stigmata imposita').

Rubellio, 5.2.2n. *quarum*, 6.2.1n. *quasi*). Nothing else is known of Vitia, but it is deemed likely that she too committed suicide (next n.).

10.2 Haec apud senatum, nec secus apud principem . . . ad mortem aguntur Problems of interpretation here overlap with those of punctuation. (a) Nipperdey–Andresen, Furneaux and Koestermann punctuate with a full-stop or similar after *Haec apud senatum* and, assuming the elision of a verb such as *acta sunt*, understand the sentence as referring to the whole of the preceding narrative (2.1–10.1). The difficulty with this is that it makes poor sense of *nec secus . . . ad mortem aguntur*, since most of the individuals mentioned in 2.1–10.1 were not 'driven to death' at all. (b) According to Walther, older editors punctuated strongly after *principem*, evidently producing the following sense: 'These things were done before the senate, and it was no different before the *princeps*. Vescularius Flaccus and Julius Marinus were driven to death'. This is perhaps a little better, since the looser connection allows one to understand that the similarity between the two venues consisted of something more general, such as the terror mentioned at 9.3; yet the previous difficulty is not entirely eliminated, and the double ellipse is perhaps awkward. (c) Walther himself referred *Haec* to Vitia in the preceding sentence, thereby introducing an example of 'gapping' (29.3n. *nihil*), *ad mortem agitur* presumably being understood with *Haec*. Although Walther gave no explanation for his interpretation, which was rejected by Orelli, the understood words not only avoid the logical difficulty mentioned above but are extremely appropriate to a death which is thought to have been suicide (last n.).

Since on its first appearance the likeliest meaning of *apud* is 'in the court of', 'before' (*OLD* 8b), that is also the likeliest meaning on its second appearance too, thus providing valuable evidence for the existence of the *princeps*' private court in Tib.'s reign, to which 3.10.2–3 and 4.22.1–2 may also refer (Millar 523). Cf. 11.2.1 'intra cubiculum auditur' (and Malloch ad loc.), 13.4.2 'clausis unam intra domum accusatoribus' (Nero promising not to follow Claudius' example). There is discussion in A. H. M. Jones, *Studies in Roman government and law* (1968) 86–98, F. de Angelis, 'The emperor's justice and its spaces in Rome and Italy', in F. de Angelis (ed.), *Spaces of justice in the Roman world* (2010) 127–60, esp. 133–5 and 142–7, and M. Peachin, 'Augustus' emergent judicial powers, the "crimen maiestatis", and the Second Cyrene Edict', in J.-L. Ferrary and J. Scheid (edd.), *Il princeps romano: autocrate o magistrato? Fattori giuridici e fattori sociali del potere imperiale da Augusto a Commodo* (2015) 3–59, esp. 5–46; for the senate as court see Garnsey 17–42, Talbert 460–88.

Vescularius Flaccus An *eques* (2.28.1n.; Demougin, *PCR* 240 no. 276) who played a key role in the downfall of Libo Drusus in 16 (2.27–31), as T. reminds us below; see also *PH* 162–7. Although he is twice given the *cognomen* Flaccus in the earlier episode (2.28.1–2), the MS transmits the name here as *Atticus*. Once

again Syme urged that the mistake was more likely to be T.'s than a scribe's (*TST* 75), and his urging influenced Koestermann and Borzsák. Yet *flaccus* is not dissimilar to *–sattus* (for *–ac–* and *–at–* see e.g. 5.4.3, 6.21.2, 35.1, 38.1, 41.1), and the 'correction' of the latter to *–s atticus* would no doubt be encouraged by the appearance of Curtius Atticus just below. Heubner was right to read *Flaccus* here.[52]

Iulius Marinus Otherwise unknown. Thought to be an *eques* by Syme (*Tac.* 302) but not by Demougin (*PCR* 400–1 n. 2).

ad mortem aguntur It is a mark of the ideal ruler to provide himself with friends (Plin. *Pan.* 85.6 'praecipuum est principis opus amicos parare'): although these two men were amongst the *princeps*' oldest friends (below), in the end tyrants cannot be friends with anyone (Plato, *Rep.* 576a φίλοι μὲν οὐδέποτε οὐδενί, *Gorg.* 510b–c, Arist. *Pol.* 1313b30–32, Cic. *Amic.* 52–3; cf. Xen. *Hiero* 3.7–9).

Rhodum secuti Tib. had spent the years 6 BC–AD 2 in self-imposed exile on Rhodes (see e.g. W. on Vell. 99–104.1).

***in*sidiarum *in* Libonem *in*ternuntius** Cf. 2.28.2 'posse . . . Flacco internuntio sermones commeare' (i.e. between Tib. and Firmius Catus, Libo's accuser).

Curtium Atticum An *eques* singled out at 4.58.1 as one of Tib.'s companions on Capri (Demougin, *PCR* 233 no. 271). His elimination by Sejanus must have been mentioned in the part of the *Annals* now lost.

sua exempla in consultores recidisse For other exs. of this idea cf. Sall. *H.* 1.74 'nam talia incepta, ni in consultorem uertissent, rei publicae pestem factura', 1.77.1 'praua incepta consultoribus noxae esse', Liv. 7.38.6 'suum ipsorum exemplum in eos uersurum', Phaedr. 1.26.12 'sua quisque exempla debet aequo animo pati', Sen. *Ep.* 7.5, 81.19 'mala exempla recidunt in auctores', Quint. 5.2.2 'nec libenter exemplum, quod in se fortasse recidat, facit', *Vers. Pop.* 5 (p. 30 Morel) 'malum consilium consultori pessimum est'; West on Hes. *WD* 265–6, Oakley on Liv. 9.9.11, McKeown on Ov. *Am.* 1.4.45–6, Gibson on Ov. *AA* 3.589–90.

10.3 Per idem tempus See 5.10.1n.

L. Piso pontifex See 3.68.2n; Syme, *AA* 329–45 (the frontispiece of this work is a bronze bust of Piso), Rüpke 594 no. 1057.

[52] Prof. Champlin urges caution, however, citing *AE* 1992.336, where he suggests that *Vesclari Att*[*i*] should in fact be restored as *Vesclari Att*[*ici*].

rarum in tanta claritudine is perhaps another metonymical expression (cf. 9.1n. *Constantia*): 'in a person of such distinction'. For the appositional phrase see 24.2n. (*tamquam*); for T.'s preference for *claritudo* over *claritas* see 1.28.1n.

fato obiit Since *obiit* in full or abbreviated form occurs very frequently on inscriptions, its use here represents convention; on the other hand its combination with *fato* is unique to T. (again at 14.62.4 but seemingly nowhere else in classical literature: *TLL* 9.2.49.8–9) and prefigures other linguistic oddities or novelties. On obituary notices in T. see 3.30.1n.

sapienter moderans Wisdom and moderation are variously combined in earlier texts and in Cicero's works above all, but T., strikingly, is the last classical author in whom the combination appears (again at 4.34.5, 6.27.4). Piso's wise moderation is repeated in *mire temperauit* at the end of the notice and summarises the emphatic verdict of both Velleius (98.3 'de quo uiro hoc omnibus sentiendum ac praedicandum est, esse mores eius uigore ac lenitate mixtissimos et uix quemquam reperiri posse qui aut otium ualidius diligat aut facilius sufficiat negotio et magis quae agenda sunt curet sine ulla ostentatione agendi') and, more explicitly, Seneca (*Ep.* 83.14 'L. Piso, urbis custos, ebrius ex quo semel factus est fuit. maiorem noctis partem in conuiuio exigebat; usque in horam sextam fere dormiebat: hoc eius erat matutinum. officium tamen suum, quo tutela urbis continebatur, diligentissime administrauit. huic et diuus Augustus dedit secreta mandata cum illum praeponeret Thraciae, quam perdomuit, et Tiberius proficiscens in Campaniam, cum multa in urbe et suspecta relinqueret et inuisa'). Since it is typical of the tyrant to purge the state of the men whose virtues might lead them to challenge him (Hdt. 5.92ζ.2–η.1, Xen. *Hiero* 5.1–2, Plato, *Rep.* 567c Ὀξέως ἄρα δεῖ ὁρᾶν αὐτὸν τίς ἀνδρεῖος, τίς μεγαλόφρων, τίς φρόνιμος, τίς πλούσιος· καὶ οὕτως εὐδαίμων ἐστίν, ὥστε τούτοις ἅπασιν ἀνάγκη αὐτῷ, εἴτε βούλεται εἴτε μή, πολεμίῳ εἶναι καὶ ἐπιβουλεύειν, ἕως ἂν καθήρῃ τὴν πόλιν), a theme which is esp. recurrent in Aristotle (*Pol.* 1311a20–2, 1313a40–1, 1314a5–10, 19–23), 'mixed' characters like Piso, whose administrative efficiency was counterbalanced by some form of unconventional behaviour, were greatly prized (see esp. 1.80.2–3 'neque enim eminentis uirtutes sectabatur et rursum uitia oderat: ex optimis periculum sibi, a pessimis dedecus publicum metuebat') and become a feature of early imperial public life: see e.g. Sallustius Crispus at 3.30.2–3 (and W. on Vell. 88.2).

Patrem ei . . . meruerat 'Piso's titles to renown stand in a sequence of bare disconnected praises, reproducing the old annalistic manner' (Syme, *TST* 86).

censorium fuisse memoraui The reference must have been in the part of Book 5 which is now lost; for cross-references see 6.4.1n. (*ut rettuli*): for those

involving *memoraui* see 3.18.1n., where add the exs. in Book 6 (36.2 and 47.2). Piso's father was L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus (*cos.* 58 BC), the celebrated victim of Cicero's invective and Caesar's last father-in-law; he was censor in 50 BC (*MRR* 2.247–8).

aetas ad octogesimum annum processit Although *aetas procedit* is found elsewhere (e.g. Cels. 2.1.19, 7.20.2), it is appropriate to epitaphs (*CLE* 963.5 'bis duodenos annos iam processerat aetas', 1537A.3 'ter senos aetas mea cum processit in annos').

decus triumphale in Thraecia meruerat The traditional dates of the war in Thrace are 13–11 BC (W. on Vell. 98.2), although Syme throughout his career argued for 12–10 BC (e.g. *AA* 334). *decus triumphale* seems to be an exclusively Tacitean expr. (4×) for *ornamenta triumphalia* (see *Ann.* 3, p. 503, General Index s.v. 'technical or official language avoided').

praefectus urbi . . . mire temperauit 'as Prefect of the City he regulated wonderfully a power which only recently had been made continuous and was more oppressive because of the unfamiliarity of obeying it.' Remarkably, perhaps, neither *potestatem temperare* nor *grauis potestas* seems to be paralleled, but *insolentia parendi* suggests that the power is *grauior* not to its holder but to those at whom it was aimed. For the adverbial use of *recens* see 2.21.1n.; for *insolentia* see 3.38.3n.

11.1 Namque antea . . . Thus begins a formal digression on the history of the *praefectura urbis*. There are roughly seventeen formal digressions in the extant *Annals*, the highest number being in Book 6. (It is difficult to provide precise figures because scholars reasonably differ over what exactly constitutes a digression.) Hahn divided these passages into the three broad categories of 'law', 'magistracies' and 'cultural history', but not everyone will agree with her categorisations and in any case she omitted altogether some passages which are clearly digressive (e.g. 4.5–6, 4.32–3, 6.22). Her largest category is her third, into which T.'s discussion of the phoenix falls (28 below); the present digression falls clearly into the category of 'magistracies', like those at 11.22.3–6 (the quaestorship: see Malloch ad loc.) and 13.29 (the prefecture of the treasury). Some digressions are introduced by an opening formula such as is found at 28.1 below (n. *de quibus*); a very few, such as that at 4.32–3, are concluded by a closural formula (22.4n. *ne nunc*). The present digression has neither of these devices but, in a loose form of ring composition, returns to Piso and his death at the very end (3 below).

The sources for the more antiquarian of T.'s digressions are 'an entertaining topic', according to Syme (*AA* 212). Livy, an otherwise obvious possibility, seems ruled out here because, of the three *praefecti* assigned by T. to the regal period, Livy mentions only Sp. Lucretius in this connection. Syme himself

suggested that the present digression derives from a lecture delivered by the emperor Claudius when appointing L. Volusius Saturninus as *praefectus urbi* (*Tac.* 709 with *AA* 212). If one asks why T. should here be looking at a source which *ex hypothesi* would not become relevant until he was writing his account of Claudius' reign, G. B. Townend in a brilliant paper argued convincingly that the digression on the Caelian Hill (4.65) derived from Claudius but was mediated through Aufidius Bassus, whose history T. was using for Tib.'s reign; it is 'likely enough', said Townend, that the same author reproduced the contemporary speech which Syme suggests the same emperor made on the urban prefecture ('Claudius and the digressions in Tacitus', *RhM* 105 (1962) 358–68, quotation from 366). See also 11.2n. (on Maecenas) below.

It is also difficult to know why T. decided to insert digressions where he does, but in the case of the *praefectura urbis* Augustus' need for someone 'qui coerceret seruitia et quod ciuium audacia turbidum, nisi uim metuat' (11.2) is perhaps significant. 'Die Stadtpräfektur, deren Zweck die Erhaltung der öffentlichen Ruhe in der Hauptstadt war, war der Republik fremd und musste den Römern so recht vor Augen stellen, dass sie in einem Polizeistaat und unter einer unbeschränkten Monarchie lebten', writes Hahn (36).[53] Such a theme suited very well the narrative of the year 32 (see further below).

ne urbs sine imperio foret seems likely to mean 'lest the City should be without someone in charge': i.e. *imperio* is metonymical (for which see e.g. Cic. *Prov. Cons.* 5 'Macedoniam . . . sine imperio', *Att.* 7.7.5; *TLL* 7.1.581.31ff., esp. 48–50) and non-technical and is used *uariationis causa* after *regibus* and *magistratibus* above (for the *uariatio* of concrete ~ abstract see Sörbom 75). Cadoux maintained that 'Tacitus' plain meaning' is 'that there ought always to be a responsible person holding the *imperium*' (154, an extended discussion), but the holding of *imperium* within the city limits was more or less a contradiction in terms: see F. K. Drogula, '*Imperium*, *potestas* and the *pomerium* in the Roman republic', *Historia* 56 (2007) 419–52, and *Commanders and command in the Roman republic and early empire* (2015) chap. 2. The use of apparently technical language in a non-technical way is typically Tacitean (see *Ann.* 3, p. 503, General Index s.v. 'technical or official language slightly distorted'). For *foret* see 3.14.4n.

in tempus deligebatur *in tempus* can mean either 'for a time', 'temporarily' (as 4.66.2; *OLD tempus* 5a, quoting only Sall. *H.* 3.48.12), or 'to suit the occasion' (10c, quoting many passages including ours). Yet T. is contrasting the 'old' type of *praefectura urbis* with that held by Piso, and, just as *antea* here contrasts with *recens* (10.3), so *in tempus* contrasts with *continuam* and must mean 'temporarily'. For *deligo* see 6.2.3n. (*principem*).

[53] Hahn's dissertation was written in Munich and published in 1933.

subitis mederetur *subita*, regularly used substantivally in T. to mean 'emergencies' (G–G 1558b), here contributes to the medical metaphor (see e.g. Cels. 6.18.9a 'subitis et grauissimis morbis').

Feruntque . . . impositos This sentence expands upon *regibus* (*–que* is epexegetic: *OLD* 6a), just as *dein consules mandabant* expands upon *magistratibus*.

ferunt, as often, both distances T. from and claims authority for the antiquarian material which he is about to impart; the verb is esp. common in the first decade of Livy (R. B. Steele, *AJP* 25 (1904) 21–2). The reference to Romulus reflects 'the standard desire of the Roman annalistic and antiquarian tradition to ascribe as much as possible to Rome's eponymous founder' (Oakley on Liv. 8.36.1). Denter Romulius is otherwise unknown. Numa Marcius is said by Livy to have been appointed *pontifex* by Numa Pompilius (1.20.5), with whose daughter Pompilia he is said to have had a child, the future king Ancus Marcius (Plut. *Numa* 21.4–6). The case of Sp. Lucretius is mentioned by Livy at 1.59.12, where Ogilvie seems simultaneously to suggest that Lucretius is a fictitious figure and that his association with the *praefectura urbis* is a retrojection from Sp. Larcius (cos. 506).

dein consules mandabant The ten known cases between the end of the regal period and 47 BC, when Julius Caesar revived the office by appointing L. Julius Caesar to it (Dio 42.30.1), almost all belong to the fifth century and are attested in Livy and/or Dionysius of Halicarnassus: see Oakley on Liv. 8.36.1 for discussion.

duratque simulacrum . . . praeficitur Alongside the new, permanent type of *praefectura urbis* established by Augustus the old, temporary office was kept alive during the Latin Festival each year, when a young man of rank was appointed to replace the consuls while they and other magistrates were absent for several days, honouring Jupiter Latiaris on the Alban Mount outside Rome (see F. Pina Polo, *The consul at Rome* (2011) 30). T. records an example of such an appointment at 4.36.1 'ut feriarum Latinarum diebus praefectum urbis Drusum' (AD 25). *durat . . . simulacrum*, the expr. used by Pliny to describe statues which have survived from ancient times to the present day (*NH* 16.216, 35.158), effectively conveys the ritualistic nature of the position to which *praeficitur* alludes. The *Feriae Latinae* took place during the second quarter of each year, the exact time being determined by the consuls.

11.2 Cilnium Maecenatem equestris ordinis Maecenas was first placed in charge of affairs in 36 BC (Dio 49.16.2 with Reinhold's n.); he had the same role around the time of the battle of Actium, although he departed temporarily to be at Octavian's side for the battle itself: see I. M. Le M. Du Quesnay, '*Amicus certus in re incerta cernitur*: Epode 1', in *Traditions and contexts in the poetry of Horace* (ed. Woodman and Feeney, 2002) 19 and n. 17. T.'s reference

to Maecenas' equestrian status, a key element of his persona, prepares for the contrast with *e consularibus* below; Syme believed that T.'s very reference to the *priuatus* Maecenas 'undermines and discredits the Republican and constitutional precedents which (it may be presumed) had been claimed to justify the innovation' (*Tac.* 432; cf. *AA* 211), but the next two sentences, and esp. *primusque Messala Coruinus eam potestatem . . . accepit*, tell against this notion.

No other source, literary or epigraphic, gives the man a *nomen* and *cognomen*. Demougin simply lists him as 'C. Maecenas' (*PCR* 86–7 no. 77), and Oakley (on Liv. 10.3.2) says that T. was 'mistaken' in imagining Cilnius to be Maecenas' *nomen*. But this is not what T. has done. It was the Etruscan fashion to use a maternal *nomen* as a *cognomen*: compare e.g. M. Vettius Bolanus and A. Caecina Alienus, the consuls of AD 66 and 69 respectively (cf. A. R. Birley, 'The life and death of Cornelius Tacitus', *Historia* 49 (2000) 233, and *RGB* 60, citing H. Dix, *Das etruskische Cognomen* (1963) 325ff.; note also B. Salway, 'What's in a name? A survey of Roman onomastic practice from *c.* 700 BC to AD 700', *JRS* 84 (1994) 129). Since it is hard to see why T. would give Maecenas a name to which he was not entitled, it is to be inferred that Syme (*Tac.* 709 and n. 3) was correct in suggesting that his full name was C. Maecenas Cilnius and that T. has simply inverted *nomen* and *cognomen* (as with Statilius Taurus below and numerous others: see further 3.21.3n.). Syme further suggested that the unique nomenclature perhaps derived from the same speech of the emperor Claudius (who was interested in things Etruscan: cf. Suet. *Claud.* 42.2; Malloch on 11.24.2) as the rest of the digression. Augustus evidently called Maecenas 'emerald of the Cilnii' (Macrob. 2.4.12 'Cilniorum smaragde').

rerum potitus See 5.1.3n. (*laudata*).

ob magnitudinem populi Augustus conducted three empire-wide censuses in 28 BC, 8 BC and AD 14, during which time the population of Roman citizens is said to have increased by 21.5% to 4,937,000 (*RG* 8.2–4). Although there are large and controversial statistical issues with all such figures (e.g. W. Scheidel, 'Human mobility in Roman Italy 1: the free population', *JRS* 94 (2004) 1–26), 'it is generally agreed that the population of Rome under Augustus must have been about one million' (Cooley on *RG* 15.2, referring to G. Rickman, *The corn supply of ancient Rome* (1980) 8–10).

tarda legum auxilia 'may well contain an implied criticism of existing criminal and civil procedures. The securing of compensation for private injury or loss by the formulary process could be a long-drawn-out business, while interminable delays were an ever-present feature of the jury–court system. The *cognitio* procedure which Augustus introduced made possible a more efficient and streamlined justice. The urban prefect was often experienced in law as well as in government, and he was able to call upon men of like distinction and record for advice and assistance' (Garnsey 92).

sumpsit is being used in the sense of 'adopting a person for a position or duty' (*OLD* 10b).

qui coerceret seruitia et quod ciuium audacia turbidum, nisi uim metuat The typical *uariatio* of noun ~ rel. clause (Sörbom 119) involves an equally typical use of language. The verb suggests an allusion to *coercitio*, 'the infliction of summary punishment by a magistrate or other person in order to secure obedience to his will' (*OLD* 2); yet, since the punishment of slaves came within the legal remit of their master,[54] *coercitio* applies only to the potentially disruptive element of the citizen body: T.'s expr. is thus a form of syllepsis, and it is of course characteristic of him to use a technical term in a non-technical way (above, 6.11.1n. *ne*). *audacia* in the sense of 'revolutionary spirit' and the like effectively recreates the language and atmosphere of the late republic (see Ch. Wirszubski, '*Audaces*: a study in political phraseology', *JRS* 51 (1961) 12–22); *turbidus* in the sense of 'mutinous' seems almost exclusive to T., who greatly favours it (*OLD* 6). For later refs. to the *praefectus urbi* see 14.41, *H.* 2.63.1 (and Chilver's n.); Plin. *Ep.* 6.11.1 and Sherwin-White's n. On *coercitio* see further W. Nippel, *Public order in ancient Rome* (1995) 5–12.

11.3 Primusque Messala Coruinus . . . quasi nescius exercendi M. Valerius Messala Corvinus, the consul of 31 BC and a famous orator (3.34.2n.), is said by St Jerome to have been appointed in January 26 BC and to have held the office for a mere six days, 'inciuilem esse potestatem contestans' (*Chron.* 18, p. 164H), an observation which is connected by scholars with another remark attributed to him, 'pudet imperii' (Sen. *Apoc.* 10.2 and Eden ad loc.). Corvinus' apparent association with such comments suggests that *quasi* here = 'on the grounds that' (*OLD* 5a) rather than 'as if', although, as often, one cannot be certain. 'Corvinus quickly saw his error – and detected an artful device. His name and repute were being inveigled into visible and vulnerable approbation of the new regime; and he could claim that the thing was illicit, even in terms of an ostensible "res publica". Furthermore, prompt withdrawal served to advertise an attitude of independence, laudable and innocuous' (Syme, *AA* 211–12). See also F. Della Corte, 'La breve praefectura urbis di Messala Corvino', in *Philias Charin: Miscellanea di studi classici in onore di E. Manni* (1980) 2.667–77. For the importance of 'firsts' and their recording see 6.1.2n. (*Tuncque*).

Taurus Statilius . . . egregie tolerauit Having been suffect in 37 and *ordinarius* in 26, T. Statilius Taurus (3.72.1n.; Rüpke 903 no. 3142) was placed

[54] R. S. Rogers among others infers from *Dig.* 48.2.12.3 that in AD 20 a *senatus consultum* deprived masters of the right to punish their slaves, but the passage has been taken out of context (*Criminal trials and criminal legislation under Tiberius* (1935) 57).

in charge of the city and the rest of Italy by Augustus when he departed for Gaul in 16 BC: see Dio 54.19.6, who says that Taurus was appointed because Agrippa was abroad and Maecenas was out of favour. Rich in his note ad loc. agrees with Cadoux (153) in inferring from Dio that Taurus' appointment resembled that of Maecenas rather than that of Corvinus. Yet the position of Taurus between Corvinus and Piso here clearly indicates otherwise, and it is not evident why preference should be given to inferences drawn from Dio. T. uses *tolerare* absolutely again at 4.40.2 'an in penatibus isdem tolerandum haberet', where the sense is 'remain' or 'continue'; after the report of Corvinus' 'few days' just above, that sense would be very appropriate here: 'remained <in office> successfully'.

prouecta aetate See 3.30.3n.; for *quamquam* + abl. abs. see 3.20.2n. Taurus' age at the time of his appointment is not known.

uiginti per annos *uiginti* takes us back to AD 13, when Augustus was still *princeps*, and, although this accords with *sumpsit* above (whose subject is Augustus), it conflicts with Plin. *NH* 14.144–5 and Suet. *Tib.* 42.1, both of whom say that it was Tib. as *princeps* who appointed Piso to the *praefectura urbis* after a spectacular two-day drinking bout (Pliny with the qualification *credidere*). Some editors therefore print either *quindecim*, on the assumption that *xx* was wrongly written for *xv*, or *vi*, on the assumption that the latter was wrongly thought to be an abbrevation of *uiginti*. But these alternatives demonstrate only that the one figure we actually know is *uiginti*, which Syme consistently maintained should be kept (*Tac.* 746, *RP* 6.415). For the word order see 5.1.3n. (*Sanctitate*).

pariter probatus contains the main idea of the sentence.

publico funere There were three others during the reign (see 3.5.1n.); whether an average of one every six years amounts to 'granting public funerals freely' (J. Bodel, 'Death on display: looking at Roman funerals', in B. Bergmann and C. Kondoleon (edd.), *The art of ancient spectacle* (1999) 271) may be doubted. See also G. Wesch-Klein, *Funus Publicum: eine Studie zur öffentlichen Beisetzung und Gewährung von Ehrengräbern in Rom und den Westprovinzen* (1993).

12.1 Relatum . . . a Quintiliano tribuno plebei Though a tribune had the right to make a *relatio*, in practice it was extremely rare (Talbert 235; cf. 186–7). Sex. Nonius Quintilianus, son of the consul of AD 8, would be suffect consul in 38: see *RE* 17.899 = Nonius 47 (Groag), *PIR* 5.3.380–1 no. 153.

libro Sibyllae 'a Sibylline book': as emerges below, there were numerous books and numerous Sibyls.

quem . . . recipi . . . et . . . senatus consultum postulauerat The *uariatio* of noun ~ acc. + inf. is common (Sörbom 110–11); for the acc. + inf. with

postulare see *OLD* 1b. *recipere* means 'to receive into a group', 'count among' (*OLD* 3).

Caninius Gallus quindecimuirum L. Caninius Gallus had been *suffectus* in 2 BC. In addition to being one of the *quindecimuiri*, a priesthood which T. himself was to hold (11.11.1), he was also *frater Arualis* (*CIL* 6.2024, 2027) and by 36 would be *magister* of the college (*CIL* 6.2025): see *RE* 3.1477–8 = Caninius 5 (Groag), *PIR* 3.93–4 no. 390; Rüpke 173, 597 no. 1081. Groag (*RE* 17.872) suggested that Gallus was married to a daughter of L. Nonius Asprenas (*suff.* AD 6) and hence to a cousin of Quintilianus (above). *quindecimuirum* is partitive gen., equivalent to *e* + abl., as Gell. 1.12.6 'cuius pater flamen aut . . . quidecimuirum sacris faciundis . . . est': see the discussion of this idiom by Oakley on Liv. 9.34.1.

Quo per discessionem facto *discessio* is 'strictly the stage when a vote was taken about a matter on which members had not been asked for opinions individually' (Talbert 524; cf. 279–80): this seems to have been the case here, otherwise T. would not have troubled to mention it.

modice tribunum increpans ignarum antiqui moris 'When presiding over the religion of the Roman state, Ti. Caesar was ever ready to intervene and rebuke ignorance or ritual delinquency' (Syme, *AA* 349, quoting also 1.62.2, 3.66.4). The modest rebuke here is followed by one more severe at §2 below; so too at 6.2.4–3.1 above. For *increpans* see 6.7.2n. (*praecipuos*).

ob iuuentam See 3.5.2n. for the preposition and 3.8.2n. or Malloch on 11.22.3 for the noun.

12.2 Gallo exprobrabat quod . . . egisset The *princeps* has five grounds of complaint: 'he reproached Gallus on the grounds that, [i] though experienced in knowledge of the rituals, he had spoken [ii] in front of an ill-attended senate [iii] despite the authorship being uncertain, [iv] before his college had given its verdict, and [v] not (as was usual) after the poem had been read and assessed by the masters'. Gallus' behaviour is all the more strange if Dio (57.18.4–5) is right in saying that thirteen years earlier (AD 19), in response to an ominous oracle which was believed to be Sibylline and was interpreted as applicable to that year, Tib. declared the verses to be spurious, investigated all books with a prophetic element in them, and rejected some but retained others (ἐπεσκέψατο καὶ τὰ μὲν ὡς οὐδενὸς ἄξια ἀπέκρινε τὰ δὲ ἐνέκρινε). It would not be excessive to suggest, however, that the one episode is some form of doublet of the other, although that of AD 19 is treated as genuine by R. F. Newbold, 'Social tension at Rome in the early years of Tiberius' reign', *Athenaeum* 52 (1974) 115–23.

scientiae . . . uetus This constr. is a speciality of T. and Silius (see 44.1n. *Sensit*, 1.20.2n., H. on *H.* 4.20.3; K–S 1.438), but cf. also *CIL* 8.2581.9 'belli

uetus'. The two nouns constitute a hendiadys. For Gallus' religious expertise see above.

incerto auctore That is, it had not been proved that the book emanated from a Sibyl.

collegii That of the *quindecimuiri*.

magistros The technical term for the chief officer of a *collegium* or (to judge from plural cases such as this) those of its members who performed some special function (*TLL* 8.79.26ff.; *OLD* 4a): cf. e.g. *RG* 22.2 'pro conlegio XVuirorum magister conlegii collega M. Agrippa ludos saeculares . . . feci'.

aestimatoque carmine The same expr. at Mart. 10.35.10 refers to the assessment of quality, here to that of genuineness. Evidently one criterion for judging whether an individual verse was genuine or not was whether it broke the acrostic pattern in which many Sibylline oracles were presented (for this feature see E. Courtney, *Philol.* 134 (1991) 4–5, J. T. Katz, *The Muse at play* (ed. J. Kwapsz, D. Petrain and M. Szymański, 2013) 6–10).

apud infrequentem senatum When coupled with *senatus*, the adj. seems almost equivalent to 'inquorate' (e.g. Cic. *QF* 2.11.1, Liv. 3.6.5; *OLD* 1b). Augustus had been much concerned with senatorial attendance, and, despite his retirement to Capri, Tib. would have known of poorly attended sessions because the *acta senatus*, which he read (5.4.1nn.), presumably recorded attendance figures in the same way as did *senatus consulta* (e.g. *SCPP* 173): see Talbert 137–8 and n. 21.

Simul commonefecit . . . 'To render Tiberius, Tacitus made a careful choice of words – not only the rare and arresting, but also less obtrusive words, alien from his own manner' (Syme, *Tac.* 702); and this is one of the verbs used 'uniquely in reference to actions of Tiberius', the others being *cohonesto* (3.76.2), *eloquor* (3.65.3, 4.31.2) and *eluctor* (4.31.2). Although it is very characteristic of Tib. to introduce into his speeches a reference to the example of Augustus (as at 6.3.2 above), his dwelling on the Sibylline Books like this suggests his extreme sensitivity to oracles. He had forbidden consultation of the Books when the Tiber flooded in 15 (1.76.1), and he attempted also to suppress the *Praenestinae sortes* (Suet. *Tib.* 63.1). 'It was as essential to the emperor as it had been for the republican senate to control the record of "authentic" divinely inspired prophecy' (D. Potter, *Prophets and emperors: human and divine authority from Augustus to Theodosius* (1994) 151, who, however, entirely misunderstands the Tacitean passage).

quia . . . uulgabantur The clause is clearly part of what Tib. said: for the indic. see 1.10.2n. *nomen celebre* is a very common phrase (H. on *H.* 2.4.4).

sanxisse Augustum quem intra diem . . . deferrentur neu quae habere priuatim liceret The paradosis reads *neque habere*, which is variously awkward: (a) *habere* has no expressed object; (b) the object which has to be understood is presumably *uana* (*carmina*) from the *quem*-clause, where, however, *uana* is nominative; (c) since no *ut-* or *ne*-clause precedes (contrast 11.18.2 and 15.43.4), a negative indirect command should properly be introduced by *neue* (which Ernesti proposed) or *neu*. These three problems can be eliminated by the suggestion that T. wrote *neu quae . . . liceret*, 'and that it should not be lawful to hold on to any in private'. For the resumption of an earlier noun by the indefinite pronominal adj. cf. perhaps Liv. 33.34.3 'denuntiatum ut . . . abstineret liberis ciuitatibus neu quam lacesseret armis' (Madvig: *ne umquam* MSS).

In 12 BC Augustus as *pontifex maximus* famously collected 'quidquid fatidicorum librorum Graeci Latinique generis nullis uel parum idoneis auctoribus uulgo ferebatur' and burned 2000 of them (Suet. *Aug.* 31.1); evidently the *praetor urbanus* was nominated as the recipient of the non-genuine oracles, and there was a deadline to the amnesty on their private possession. Suetonius adds that, although the Sibylline Books were exempt from the general round-up and incineration, they too were nevertheless weeded out. Some years earlier Augustus had arranged for the *quindecimuiri* to copy out those Sibylline verses which had become indistinct with the passage of time (Dio 54.17.2).

12.3 Quod a maioribus quoque decretum erat Having just put the Augustan history of the Sibylline oracles into the mouth of Tib. ('simul commonefecit . . . '), T. in his own voice now goes further back in time; and both sentences together are parallel to the historical digression on the *praefectura urbis* which preceded (11.1–3). See also on *Igitur* below.

post exustum sociali bello Capitolium On 6 July 83 BC (Plut. *Sulla* 27.6), well after the Social War (91–87 BC) had ended; whether there was an arsonist and, if so, whether it was the suitably named Papirius Carbo, was never decided (App. *BC* 1.86). T. at *H.* 3.72.1–3 correctly says that the fire took place 'ciuili bello' and gives the correct year too. *sociali* here therefore seems an error, although the one war merged into the other (3.27.2); but whether the mistake, if it is a mistake,[55] is T.'s or a scribe's is unclear.

Samo . . . Italicas colonias Three ablatives of 'place whence' are varied by three places governed by a preposition, the only such case recorded by Sörbom 85. The 'Italian colonies', an otherwise unexampled expr., are

[55] It is perhaps worth noting that the Social War is described as a 'civil war' by Velleius (2.9.5) and Florus (2.6.1): see E. Rawson, *Roman culture and society* (1991) 366 and n. 19.

understood to be those of Magna Graecia in southern Italy, one of which was Cumae (next n.).

una seu plures fuere According to Lactantius (*Div. Inst.* 1.6.8–12) Varro explained that over the course of time all female prophets came to be called 'Sibyls', and he listed a canonical ten: from Persia, Libya, Delphi, Cimmeria, Erythrea, Samos, Cumae, the Hellespont, Phrygia and Tibur. See H. W. Parke, *Sibyls and Sibylline prophecy in classical antiquity* (1988) 23–50; also J. L. Lightfoot, *The Sibylline oracles* (2007) 1–18.

datoque . . . negotio . . . uera discernere An infin. after *negotium* seems unparalleled (*OLD negotium* 5a). The pluperfect *potuissent* instead of the expected *possent* is perhaps used 'because *vera discernere* implies previous research and subsequent publication of its results' (Furneaux, referring to Jacob).

Igitur . . . notioni quindecimuirum is liber subicitur *Igitur* resumes the main narrative after the brief authorial digression *quod . . . discernere* (G–G 550b-551a: many exs. listed but not this one), while *tunc quoque notioni quindecimuirum* looks back to *non . . . aestimatoque carmine* (2) and *is liber* to *de libro* (1). *notio* is technical for an official enquiry (*OLD* 2a); *subicere* here = 'to submit', 'to subject' to investigation (*OLD* 4).

13.1 Isdem consulibus A formulaic phrase almost exclusive to T. (11× in *A.*; otherwise Cic. *Sest.* 34, *Att.* 5.21.12, Oros. 2.5.4, *HA Commod.* 12.5).

grauitate annonae This expr. recurs only at 11.4.2 (see Malloch's n.), *grauis annona* being more common (W. on Vell. 77.1); whether *annonae* refers to the supply or to the price of grain (*OLD* 2a, 4a) is not clear. This grain crisis, five years from the end of Tib.'s reign, has its counterpart in that of AD 19, five years from the start (2.87):

[*a*] saeuitiam annonae incusante plebe [*b*] statuit frumento pretium quod emptor penderet, binosque nummos se additurum negotiatoribus in singulos modios. [*c*] neque tamen ob ea parentis patriae delatum et antea uocabulum adsumpsit, [*d*] acerbeque increpuit eos qui diuinas occupationes ipsumque dominum dixerant. [*e*] unde angusta et lubrica oratio sub principe qui libertatem metuebat, adulationem oderat.

The five-fold division of the earlier episode is matched by a similar division in AD 32 (see nn. below): the two crises, neither of them mentioned by any other writer, seem designed as an index by which the deterioration of the *princeps*' behaviour during the intervening period may be judged (see further *PH* 347–8). For some bibliography on food crises and supply etc. see 3.54.4n.

iuxta seditionem . . . aduersum imperatorem Like its predecessor (cf. *a*), this episode too begins with popular (but more vociferous) complaints; see also C. Virlouvet, *Famines et émeutes à Rome des origines de la République à la mort de Néron* (1985). *iuxta seditionem* is Sallustian (*H.* 3.96D = 3.42.9R 'iuxta seditionem erant'); for demonstrations in the theatre see 3.23.1n. For the archaising form *aduersum* see 3.14.1n.

Quis commotus . . . coercuissent In 19 the *princeps* had immediately taken emergency action to deal with the crisis (cf. *b*); here he criticises magistrates and senators for not controlling the people. *publica auctoritate* = 'by means of their official authority' (*OLD publicus* 2a); the phrase is found esp. in Cicero and Livy.

addiditque . . . aduectaret Whereas in 19 thanks were offered to Tib. for his emergency action (cf. *c*), here he refers to the measures which he was already taking. His reference to Augustus, as at 12.2 above, is characteristic (6.3.2n. *repperisse*), but his adoptive father is usually a standard to whom to appeal rather than a benchmark which Tib. has surpassed. But Tib., whose political career began by grappling with a still earlier food crisis in 23 BC (Vell. 94.3), is obsessed with grain and his role in its provision: see esp. 3.54.4–5 and nn., 4.6.4; *PH* 345–6, 349–50. *aduectare* is found elsewhere only at Val. Fl. 4.106 in classical Latin and perhaps suggests a Tiberian idiolect (Miller 17).

13.2 Ita . . . consules edixere The official rebuke of the people for their complaints contrasts strongly with Tib.'s earlier rebuke of those whose gratitude to him took too flattering a form (*d*). For *prisca seueritate* (again at 11.25.3) see W. on Vell. 127.4, adding Pollio F7C = 5P.

Silentium . . . accipiebatur The earlier episode (cf. *e*) concluded with comments on (i) speaking, (ii) the mutual incomprehension of emperor and people, (iii) the contrast between freedom and sycophancy; the present episode is concluded by remarks on (i) silence, (ii) the mutual incomprehension of emperor and people, (iii) the contrast between *ciuilitas* and *superbia*. '*Civilitas* describes the pattern of a good emperor', says A. Wallace-Hadrill, '*superbia* that of a bad one' ('*Civilis princeps*: between citizen and king', *JRS* 72 (1982) 43). Tib. liked to encourage the presentation of himself as the *ciuilis princeps* (3.12.2n.), but *superbia* is one of the key characteristics of the tyrant: the downward route on which Tib. is travelling is marked by the antithesis between these two terms, for which see esp. Liv. 4.4.10 'id uos sub legis superbissumae uincula conicitis, qua dirimatis societatem ciuilem' (the speech of Canuleius, with which T. was familiar: see Malloch on 11.23–25.1, pp. 341–2); also R. Strocchio, *I significati del silenzio nell'opera di Tacito* (1992) 17 and n. 45.

14.1 Fine anni See 3.30.1n.

Geminius, Celsus, Pompeius, equites Romani The first and last are otherwise unknown: see Demougin, *PCR* 241–2, nos. 278 and 280; for Celsus see below.

prodigentia opum ac mollitia uitae amicus Seiano Champlin (2012: 379–81) sees Geminius as a counterpart of the 'rich and prodigal Apicius' from Sejanus' younger days (4.1.2 'non sine rumore Apicio diuiti et prodigo stuprum ueno dedisse'), both men illustrating the kind of effeminate company which Sejanus liked to keep. Dio's text, as transmitted, makes a similar statement about a Geminius under AD 30 (58.4.5–6 Γάιος Ῥοῦφος Γεμίνιος . . . μαλακίας αἰτιαθείς), but scholars generally assume this to be a reference to the similarly named consul of AD 29 (see above, 6.10.1), and Nipperdey duly emended to Φούφιος Γέμινος. *prodigentia* is exclusively Tacitean (again at 13.1.3, 15.37.1); *mollitia uitae* recurs only at 15.70.2. For a general discussion of *mollitia* see C. Edwards, *The politics of immorality in ancient Rome* (1993) 63–97.

nihil ad serium is obscure: perhaps sc. *egerat*, 'had done nothing amounting to anything serious'.

Iulius Celsus tribunus This Celsus, while clearly identical with the *urbanae cohortis tribunus* of 6.9.3 above, is said by Furneaux and Koestermann to have been given his *nomen* to distinguish him from the Celsus just mentioned. But Demougin, pointing out that all the officers of the urban cohorts were of equestrian rank, thinks that all three references are to the same person (*PCR* 241–2 no. 279; *OE* 366).

in uinclis . . . perfregit 'while in bonds he broke his own neck by stretching in different directions the chain which loosely encircled him.' These graphic suicides (again at 4.45.2, and cf. 15.57.2) constitute a commonplace of historical writing: see those collected by W. on Vell. 120.6.

14.2 Rubrio Fabato Otherwise unknown: see *RE* 1A.1172 = Rubrius 18 (Stein), *PIR* 7.90 no. 126, *BNP* 12.748 [Rubrius II 2]. From the forcible prevention of his alleged travel plans it is assumed that he was a senator (see nn. below).

tamquam . . . fugeret 'on the grounds that he was fleeing . . . '; but, while flight is the subject of the accusation levelled at him, *desperatis rebus Romanis* and *misericordiam* are focalised from Fabatus' point of view, since his accusers presumably do not agree that the situation at Rome is desperate or that there is any pity in Parthia. They are using the age-old device of pretending sympathy with their victim, and the year's narrative ends with a final example of the manipulation of words.

Sane means something like 'it was certainly true that . . . ': the adv. 'gives limited support to a previous statement' (*OLD* 8b, quoting this ex.), in this case the accusation of flight.

longinquae peregrinationis In 29 BC Augustus had announced that any senator wishing to travel away from Italy required the *princeps*' permission (Dio 52.42.6–7 and Reinhold ad loc., Talbert 139–40, Drogula 243–57, esp. 244–5); since on the same occasion Sicily was specifically declared to be part of Italy for travel purposes, and since Fabatus is said to have got no further than the Straits of Messina, the arresting centurion seems to have relied on inference, or perhaps on leaked information, about the long-distance nature of the man's travel. *probabilis causa* is a very common phrase and, together with *longinquae peregrinationis* (for which see 3.24.4n.), almost parodies the pompous officialese of lawyers.

obliuione magis quam clementia In AD 28 there were erected twin altars, of Amicitia and Clementia, flanked by images of Tib. and Sejanus (4.74.2). The start of the present year's domestic narrative confirmed the renunciation of Sejanus' *amicitia* (6.2.1–2); that narrative now ends with the absence of *clementia*, one of the key virtues of the reign (3.68.2n.). For T.'s favoured aphoristic comparisons (*magis quam* and the like) see Voss 128, Plass, *WWH* 50–4.

15–27 THE YEAR AD 33

Domestic affairs

It is now four years (29–32) since Tib. and Sejanus, on the death of Livia, were released from their constraints and could savage their victims in the manner of marauding lions (5.3.1n. *uelut*); after another four years (34–37) Tib. will himself be dead. Thus the reader is now embarking on the central year of Books 5–6.

'In all the principate of Tiberius Caesar one of the blackest years was AD 33.' Such was the verdict of Syme (*RP* 4.177), who discussed the year in a typically dense and allusive paper and, comparing T.'s 'ample exposition' with the deficiencies of Dio (58.20.5–23.6), described it as 'a marvel of coherence and variety'.[56] A substantial digression (20.2–22.4) divides T.'s narrative of the year into two parts 'of equal compass' (15.1–20.1 and 23.1–27.4).[57] Dynastic marriages comprise two episodes in the first part (15.1, 20.1) and one in the second (27.1), while 'the deaths of no fewer than twelve named persons' have

[56] 'The year 33 in Tacitus and Dio', *Athenaeum* 61 (1983) 3–23 = *RP* 4.223–44.

[57] For the structure of the year, which deals exclusively with domestic affairs, Syme (*RP* 4.224–5) referred to Ginsburg 73–6, who in turn referred to Koestermann on 15.1. See also (slightly differently) Wille 457–61, 625.

the converse distribution, a third of them falling in the first part (18–19), and two-thirds in the second (23–6, 27.2–4).[58] The arrangement of each part is also different. In the first part the two marriage episodes form a ring, framing accounts of the *princeps*' bodyguard (15.2–3), a financial crisis (16–17), and four of the named deaths (18–19); while the second part consists of a simple sequence of eight deaths, of which the five due to violence (23.1–26.3) are separated from the three natural deaths (27.2–4) by the final marriage episode (27.1).

The central digression, which is notable for having almost no connection with the year 33 at all (see below, pp. 169–7), is introduced by an anecdote in which Tiberius predicts that Servius Galba will one day taste the power which at present is being tasted by Tiberius himself (20.2 'et tu, Galba, quandoque degustabis imperium'). The *princeps*' striking choice of metaphor – rare in Latin – is particularly apt for one whose entire political career has been associated with food.[59] As quaestor at the age of nineteen in 23 BC Tib. had been entrusted with handling a grain crisis (Vell. 94.3); early in his reign he had had to deal with another (2.87); in AD 22 he had delivered a powerful speech in which he acknowledged that feeding the Roman people was above all his personal concern (3.53–4); in the following year T. himself stated that Tib. had done his very best to combat crop-failures and problems of supply-lines (4.6.4); yet, despite all this, the most recent grain crisis, which had supervened only in the previous year (6.13.1–2), demonstrated clearly that the *princeps*' responses were not what they once had been (see nn.). By now his taste of power had other manifestations.

Resorting to the image of the 'people-eating' ruler, which is as old as the *Iliad* (1.231),[60] Augustus on his death-bed had predicted that the people would be at the mercy of Tib.'s 'unyielding jaws' (Suet. *Tib*. 21.2 'miserum populum Romanum, qui sub tam lentis maxillis erit!'). According to Plato, to whose portrait of the tyrant T. has just likened Tib. (6.6.2), tyrants acquire a taste for the flesh and blood of their fellow men and are transformed into man-eating wolves (*Rep*. 565d–66a);[61] and Suetonius quotes an epigram in which the *princeps* is accused of a taste for blood (*Tib*. 59.1 'iam sitit iste cruorem; | . . . bibit hunc auide'). According to Suetonius, Tib.'s initial response to such abuse was to say *oderint, dum probent*, alluding to the famous words of Atreus, who served up for his brother Thyestes the flesh of Thyestes' own sons

[58] Syme excludes from his twelve the husband and father-in-law of Pompeia Macrina, seemingly because, though each is named, their ruin had been compassed earlier (18.2 *adflixerat*), 'presumably at some time between 29 and 32' (*RP* 4.239).

[59] For what follows see *PH* 339–60.

[60] See Brock 90.

[61] C. Mainoldi, *L'image du chien et du loup dans la Grèce ancienne d'Homère à Platon* (1984) 193–4.

(Acc. fr. 204R^3 = 168W = 47D).[62] But later, says Suetonius, Tib. made the epigram come true. According to T., the emperor's appetite was so piqued by the four named deaths in the first part of the year (19.2 'inritatusque suppliciis') that he ordered the execution of all the remaining associates of Sejanus. The vivid sketch of the ensuing carnage (19.2–3) has its detailed counterpart in the unbroken sequence of five named deaths which immediately follows the central digression (23–6). Since the first four of these deaths are by starvation, it is a terrible irony that they are presided over by an emperor who, to express his power, chose the metaphor of taste. And it is diagnostic of the surrealism of tyranny that those who starve to death are among the victims on whom Tib. is popularly said to feed.

Book 6 as a whole has over three times as many violent deaths as do Books 1–4 put together, and the year 33 has more than any other year in Book 6. It was indeed, as Koestermann said, 'the high point of the reign of terror'.

15.1 Ser. Galba The future emperor (*RE* 4A.772–801 = Sulpicius 63 (Fluss), *PIR* 7.2.366–71 no. 1003, *BNP* 5.652–4 [Galba 2]), to whom T. returns below (20.2nn.). At the time of his consulship he was evidently using the praenomen Lucius, but he reverted to Servius when he became emperor (Suet. *Galba* 4.1).

L. Sulla For L. Cornelius Sulla Felix see 3.31.3n., *BNP* 3.836 [Cornelius II 61]; Syme, *AA* Table xvi.

diu quaesito quos neptibus suis maritos destinaret As the year's narrative begins, the *princeps* has been debating with himself about his granddaughters; the last year of his life will begin with him debating likewise about his grandsons (46.1 'dubitauit de tradenda re publica primum inter nepotes'). The *neptes* in question are the daughters of Germanicus: Drusilla, born sometime between 15 and 17, and Julia Livilla, born in 18 (2.54.1): see further below. *destinare* is technical of a father arranging to marry off a daughter (*TLL* 5.1.759.75–83): it is typical of T. to apply the verb to a father arranging the marriages of someone else's sons (see 11.1n. *ne urbs*). *quaesito* (again at 2.9.1) is the kind of one-word abl. abs. of which T. is fond (see 5.2.1n. *addito*); *diu* is perhaps an allusion to the fact that, before his death in 22, Asinius Saloninus had been marked out as a grandson-in-law of the *princeps* (3.75.1n.).

postquam instabat uirginum aetas Being roughly fifteen years old, Julia Livilla was at the average age for a Roman girl to marry (A. A. Lelis, W. A. Percy and B. C. Verstraete, *The age of marriage in ancient Rome* (2003) 121,

[62] See M. Leigh, 'Varius Rufus, *Thyestes* and the appetites of Antony', *PCPS* 42 (1996) 171–95.

123–4; Treggiari 39–43, 398–403), her sister a little older. *postquam* + imperfect, a construction of which T. is fond (G–G 1149a–b), 'describes a continuing situation which accounted for the action of the main clause, i.e. it gives a quasi-causal sense' (*NLS* §217 (5)). *instare* is commonly used of time (*TLL* 7.1.2002.9–24, *OLD* 6c) but seems not to be used elsewhere with *aetas*.

L. Cassium, M. Vinicium As is often the case with itemisation in ancient texts (e.g. 22.1–2 below; *Tac. Rev.* 165 and n. 34), the two men are next described in reverse order (*Vinicio . . . Cassius . . .*), which is then itself reversed when T. resumes his main topic of betrothal (*huic . . . Vinicio . . .*). T. 'often employs enumerative asyndeton with names' (Malloch on 11.6.2, with many exs.); for the repetition of a name from one sentence to the next see 2.28.3n., C. W. Mendell, *Sentence connection in Tacitus* (1911) 49ff.

L. Cassius Longinus and M. Vinicius were *consules ordinarii* together in 30, until both were succeeded (the former by his brother, C. Cassius Longinus, the famous jurist) later in the year. For Cassius, who was killed by Caligula in 41, see *RE* 3.1740 = Cassius 67 and Suppl. 6.22 (Groag), *PIR* 2.119–20 no. 503, *BNP* 2.1170 [Cassius II 16]; Rüpke 600 no. 1104. M. Vinicius, brother-in-law of Annius Pollio (6.9.3n.), was the dedicatee of Velleius' history (Vell. 101.3n.; J. Rich, 'Velleius' history: genre and purpose', in Cowan 82–7), was consul a second time in 45, and was poisoned by Messalina in 46. See *RE* 9A.116–19 = Vinicius 7 (Hanslik), *BNP* 15.437–8 [Vinicius II 3].

Vinicio oppidanum genus: Calibus ortus The year will end symmetrically, when another granddaughter of Tib. marries Rubellius Blandus, 'cuius auum Tiburtem equitem Romanum plerique meminerant' (27.1). *oppidanum genus* is paralleled only at Cic. *Brut.* 242 in a different sense: 'oppidano quodam et incondito genere dicendi'. Cales (read by Lipsius for *calles* at 4.27.2) lay about ten miles north of Capua (*BA* Map 44: F3) and was famous for its wine; for the connection with the Vinicii see Wiseman, *AHC* 82.

patre atque auo consularibus Vinicius' father (P. Vinicius) was consul in AD 2, and his grandfather (M. Vinicius) was suffect in 19 BC.

cetera equestri familia erat 'in other respects [i.e. apart from his consular father and grandfather] he was of an equestrian family': *cetera* seems more likely to be adverbial acc. (so G–G 167b, Draeger–Heraeus), as 42.3 below, than abl. sing.

mitis ingenio et comptae facundiae Vinicius is described by Dio as τὴν . . . ἡσυχίαν ἄγων καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πράττων (60.27.4). *mite ingenium* (as 2.64.2) is a regular phrase, but T. here and at *H.* 2.63.2 follows Liv. 34.5.6 and Vell. 117.2 (of Quintilius Varus!) in applying the adj. to the person: this *uariatio* is itself varied by the descriptive genitive, and the whole phrase imitates the careful coiffuring of which T. is speaking. Metaphors of hair-dressing were

quite commonly applied to literary and oratorical style: '"combing" was felt to be reasonable, but "crimping" was an excess of refinement' (Mayer on *D.* 26.1 'calamistros Maecenatis'; cf. 20.3 'tristem et impexam antiquitatem', *H.* 1.19.1 'non comptior Galbae . . . sermo', Cic. *Senec.* 28 'compta et mitis oratio' and Powell ad loc.); J. C. Bramble, *Persius and the programmatic satire* (1974) 73–4, C. S. Kraus, 'Hair, hegemony, and historiography: Caesar's style and its earliest critics', in Reinhardt et al. 97–115. *mitis* and *comptus* are elsewhere associated only at Ov. *F.* 1.711–12 'comptos redimita capillos, | Pax, ades et toto mitis in orbe mane' (see further below).

antiqui honoratique *antiqui* here combines the notions of 'ancient' (of genealogy: *OLD* 6a) and 'characteristic of ancient times' (*OLD* 9a), the latter almost explained by *honorati* (for discussion see M. Bettini, *Anthropology and Roman culture* (1991) 117–18).

seuera patris disciplina eductus Cassius' father was L. Cassius Longinus, suffect in AD 11, whose wife was Aelia (Raepsaet-Charlier 31–3 no. 7), perhaps half-sister of Sejanus through sharing the same mother (Syme, *AA* 306 and Table XXIII). For *eductus* cf. Liv. 24.4.5 'disciplinae in qua eductus esset'.

Drusillam Julia Drusilla was subsequently forced by her brother, Caligula, to divorce Cassius so that she could marry M. Aemilius Lepidus in 38, but she died on 10 June of that year and was deified. See *RE* 10.935–7 = Iulius 567 (Fitzler), *PIR* 4.315–17 no. 664, *BNP* 6.1040–1 [Iulia 13]; Raepsaet-Charlier 375–6 no. 437; Kienast 87–8; S. Wood, 'Diva Drusilla Panthea and the sisters of Caligula', *AJA* 99 (1995) 457–82.

Iuliam Julia Livilla, the youngest of Germanicus' children, later suffered banishment twice and was killed in 41. See *RE* 10.938–9 = Iulius 575 (Fitzler), *PIR* 4.318–19 no. 674, *BNP* 7.740–1 [Livilla 2]; Raepsaet-Charlier 380–1 no. 443; Kienast 88.

leui . . . honore Elsewhere at Ov. *F.* 1.5 (in the address to Germanicus), 6.56.

15.2 redditis . . . causis . . . uagis flexit ad grauiora et offensiones . . . <sus>ceptas The letter's wandering (*uagis*) and change of direction (*flexit*) appear to mirror the aimless journeyings of its author (3 below, 6.1.1 above), but the technique (here underlined further by the contrast *grauiora* ~ *leui*) is one which the *princeps* had used before in the cases of Sabinus (4.70.1 'Caesar sollemnia . . . epistula precatus, uertit in Sabinum') and, especially, Sejanus (Dio 58.10.1). The transmitted *coeptas* makes poor sense, since it implies that Tib. did not complete what he had begun; Muretus' *susceptas* produces a Ciceronian phrase (*II Verr.* 2.137) of the kind encountered in the

speech of the Tacitean Tib. (5.2.1n. *magnitudinem*), and indeed this very expr. is used by Tib. in a speech at 3.54.6 to make the same point as here (see also 3.64.2n.). The reference to *offensiones* is given extra relevance after the abuse to which Tib. had been subjected in the theatre at the end of the previous year's narrative (13.1).

utque . . . petiuit Plato refers to 'that notorious request of the tyrant . . . for a bodyguard' (*Rep.* 566b Τὸ δὴ τυραννικὸν αἴτημα τὸ πολυθρύλητον . . . αἰτεῖν τὸν δῆμον φύλακάς τινας τοῦ σώματος), and a bodyguard is one of the standard features of a tyrant (e.g. *Rep.* 567d–e, Xen. *Hiero* 5.3–4, Cic. *Phil.* 13.18, Liv. 1.49.2, 24.5.3; Pelling on Plut. *Caes.* 57.7); some of these passages specify that a tyrant's bodyguard should be composed of foreigners, because fellow countrymen might be hostile (see esp. Arist. *Pol.* 1285a26, 1311a8): for this see 36.3 below (Parthia), 15.58.2 (Nero); H. Bellen, *Die germanische Leibwache der römischen Kaiser des julisch-claudischen Hauses* (1981). Tib.'s request for a bodyguard here contrasts ironically with his scornful dismissal of Togonius Gallus' proposed bodyguard the previous year (6.2.2–5 and nn.). See also Dio 58.18.5.

Macro praefectus In the extant text this is the first of several references to Q. Naevius Cordus Sutorius Macro, but, since he had played a part in Sejanus' downfall (Dio 58.9.2–6), he will have been mentioned prominently in the lost portion of Book 5: hence the single name Macro here. *praefectus* alludes to the fact that he succeeded Sejanus as Prefect of the Praetorian Guard (see e.g. Bingham 111–13). See *RE* 16.1565–8 = Naevius 21 (Stein), *PIR* 5.332–3 no. 12, *BNP* 9.487–8 [Naevius II 3]; Demougin, *PCR* 276–7 no. 325.

quotiens curiam ingrederetur Koestermann, remarking that *secum curiam introirent* would have sufficed, implies that this clause is redundant; but *quotiens* neatly suggests that Tib. might be making frequent senatorial visits – although, in an ambiguity entirely characteristic of him (cf. 1.11.2), the word 'does not per se necessarily express a large number of times' (Long 21).

15.3 generis aut numeri These are a regular pairing, esp. in Cic. and Liv., and perhaps suggest legalese here.

ne tecta quidem urbis, adeo publicum consilium numquam adiit 'he never approached even the buildings of the city, still less the official council': for *ne . . . quidem . . . adeo* + negative, a form of words which T. likes, see 3.34.2n. *publicum consilium* is the senate, as often in Cicero (cf. *TLL* 10.2.2459.9–11), and thus varies *senatus* just above.

***de*uiis *p*lerumque itineribus ambiens *p*atriam et *de*clinans** Thus the year's narrative begins like its predecessor, generalising about the *princeps*' future behaviour and underlining the picture of him which we were given at

6.1.1 above. According to Suetonius, Tib. tried only twice to return to Rome after his retirement to Capri: on the first occasion he got as far as Caesar's Gardens (6.1.1n. *aditis*); on the second, very close to the end of his life, 'Appia usque ad septimum lapidem, sed prospectis modo nec aditis urbis moenibus rediit . . . ostento territus' (*Tib.* 72.1). But in 33, according to Dio (58.21.1), he came within thirty stades of the capital for the marriages of Germanicus' daughters (see above) and of Drusus' daughter, Julia, which T. reserves for the end of the year (27.1); in the following year he spent time at Albanum and Tusculum (58.24.1), and in 35 at Antium, although refusing to enter Rome (58.25.2). In 36 he was again at Tusculum, according to Josephus (*AJ* 18.179). See Rogers; Syme, *RP* 4.244; A. Bernecker, *Zur Tiberius-Überlieferung der Jahre 26–37 n. Chr.* (1981) 103 n. 2; Champlin (2008) 423 n. 46. These various journeys seem to be subsumed by *plerumque* here in T., who returns to the subject at 39.2 below.

declinans might possibly be intrans., as 14.56.1, but *ambiens . . . et declinans* looks like a case of *coniunctio*, where two related terms are joined by an intervening third term (*Rhet. Herenn.* 4.37): indeed, since *patriam* continues the notion of Tib.'s self-inflicted exile (cf. 4.58.2 'ut undecim per annos libens patria careret' and n.), Martin sees *declinans* not only as transitive but as an allusion to *Planc.* 97 ('Brundisium ueni, uel potius ad moenia accessi; urbem . . . declinaui'), where Cicero is describing his own exile. *deuia itinera* is a regular expr. (though not recognised in *OLD*) and means 'by-roads' (e.g. Cic. *Att.* 14.10.1, Liv. 28.35.1); its opposite is *recta itinera*, 'direct routes'. *ambire* here means 'to go round' in the sense of 'to skirt' (so, rightly, *OLD* 4; *TLL* 1.1847.32ff. is hopeless).

16–17 *Financial crisis.* Modern historians often complain that their ancient counterparts showed no interest in economics, and it is certainly true that in the classical world more attention was paid to the kinds of gripping subject which T. listed in the famous digression in Book 4 (32.1, 33.3). Yet debt featured in the work of both Sallust (see e.g. B. D. Shaw, *Latomus* 34 (1975) 187–96) and Livy (Ogilvie on 2.23–4, Oakley on 6.34.1 [pp. 659–61]). In Book 3 T. inserted substantial digressions on the kindred topics of law (25.2–28.2) and luxury (55.1–5); now he includes an extended discussion of the financial crisis of AD 33, which is also noted much more briefly by Suetonius (*Tib.* 48.1) and Dio (58.21.4–5).[63] Although the discussion may appear to be

[63] Suetonius aligns the crisis with the fire on the Caelian Hill in AD 27 (cf. 4.64) as the two occasions on which the *princeps* displayed public *munificentia*; Dio associates the crisis with the suicide of Cocceius Nerva (see 26.1–2 below). Unlike some modern scholars, T. makes no connection between the financial crisis and either the *grauitas annonae* of the previous year (13.1–2) or the confiscation of Marius' mines in Spain (19.1). See also 16.1n. (*Interea*).

digressive in nature, it should be remembered that finance played a key role in the depiction of rulers, who, according to Aristotle, need have no fear that money will ever be short (Arist. *Pol.* 1314b8–9 οὐ δεῖ δὲ φοβεῖσθαι μή ποτε ἀπορήσῃ χρημάτων κύριος ὢν τῆς πόλεως).

Whether T. has described accurately the series of events which took place eighty years previously, and, if he has, whether he understood fully what he has described, must be uncertain. The crisis has generated considerable discussion amongst modern scholars, whose analyses vary significantly from one another.[64] In the belief that the crisis should be viewed as far as possible in its own terms rather than those of modern economic theory, the following annotations attempt merely to explain what T. says.

16.1 Interea magna uis accusatorum in eos inrupit When accompanied by *magna* or a similar adj., *uis* (*OLD* 8a) means a 'large body or number (of persons, animals, etc., often implying potential violence)', as 13.52.2 'Siluanum magna uis accusatorum circumsteterat', Cic. *Har. Resp.* 22 'uis enim innumerabilis . . . seruorum . . . inrupit'; but, since T. often sees accusers in terms of disease (e.g. 3.56.1n., 4.66.1 'accusatorum maior in dies et infestior uis sine leuamento grassabatur' and n.), it is likely that that connotation is here too (cf. Plin. *NH* 17.224 'in . . . radices inrumpit uis morbi'). Since the subject of their accusations is also seen in similar terms (see below), there is a suggestion of the proverbial 'cure worse than the disease' (for which see *RICH* 133 and n. 74, *PH* 25 n. 5). According to Dio, Tib. in due course ordered the most notorious of these accusers to be executed 'in a single day' (58.21.5). For *uis inrumpit* in another context cf. Lucr. 2.306.

Interea suggests that the issues which T. is about to discuss had been going on for some time. The deficiency in the money supply, which seems to

[64] See e.g. T. Frank, 'The financial crisis of 33 AD', *AJP* 56 (1935) 336–41; M. W. Frederiksen, 'Caesar, Cicero and the problem of debt', *JRS* 56 (1966) 128–41; H. Bellen, 'Die Krise der italischen Landwirtschaft unter Kaiser Tiberius (33 n. Chr.): Ursachen, Verlauf, Folgen', *Historia* 25 (1976) 217–34; C. Rodewald, *Money in the age of Tiberius* (1976) 1–17; R. P. Duncan-Jones, *The economy of the Roman empire: quantitative studies* (²1982); R. Wolters, 'Die Kreditkrise des Jahres 33 n.Chr.', *Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonensis* 3 (1987) 23–58; M. K. and R. L. Thornton, 'The financial crisis of AD 33: a Keynesian depression?', *Journ. Econ. Hist.* 50 (1990) 655–62; C. Howgego, 'The supply and use of money in the Roman world 200 BC to AD 300', *JRS* 82 (1992) 1–31; J. Andreau, *Banking and business in the Roman world* (1999) 104–7; S. Mrozek, *Faenus: Studien zu Zinsproblemen zur Zeit des Prinzipats* (2001) 28–40; A. Tchernia, 'Remarques sur la crise de 33', in E. Lo Cascio (ed.), *Credito e moneta nel mondo romano* (2003) 131–46; C. P. Elliott, 'The crisis of AD 33: past and present', *JAH* 3 (2015) 267–81. For the Tiberian coinage see W. Szaivert, *Die Münzprägung der Kaiser Tiberius und Caius* (1984).

constitute the worst of the crisis, was in part the result of the calling in of cash loans (17.1 '*Hinc* commoto . . . aere alieno') during a grace period, which, since it comprised 18 months (16.3), by definition extended beyond the boundaries of the present year. In addition there had already been numerous convictions (17.1 'tot damnatis') at the court before which the accusers (mentioned in the present opening sentence) had brought the money-lenders (16.3). It is impossible, however, to know how the actual chronology of developments relates to T.'s account.

pecunias faenore auctitabant T. does not make it clear whether lenders were lending too much or at too high a rate or both. The frequentative form of the verb is unparalleled in classical Latin and is perhaps suggestive of financial terminology.

legem dictatoris Caesaris T. is our only evidence for this law, which has been seen by some scholars as providing the context for Horace's famous second Epode (see Watson's introduction to the poem, p. 79). Dio says that Tib. revived a Caesarian law on contracts, with disastrous results (58.21.4 τοὺς νόμους τοὺς περὶ τῶν συμβολαίων ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος τεθέντας, ἐξ ὧν καὶ ἀπιστία καὶ ταραχὴ πολλὴ γενήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν, ἀνενεώσατο). A different law of Caesar, with perhaps some similarity to the one mentioned by T., is described by Dio under 49 BC (41.38.1–2).

qua de modo credendi possidendique intra Italiam cauetur *modo* does not clarify the respect(s) in which Caesar's law was being broken (see above). *possidendi* refers to the holding of land (*OLD* 1a). It is unclear whether *cauetur* is historic present or intended to imply that the provisions of Caesar's law were still theoretically in force, though long since ignored (*omissam* below). Prof. Courtney attractively suggests *cau<er>etur*, indicating Caesar's purpose at the time of the passing of the law.

priuato . . . postponitur Cf. Sall. *J.* 25.3 'ita bonum publicum, uti in plerisque negotiis solet, priuata gratia deuictum' and Koestermann ad loc. (quoting our passage). The contrast is mirrored in the behaviour attributed to Tib. at 19.1 below (n. *quamquam*).

Sane uetus . . . malum *sane* ('to be sure') introduces a flashback like those at 11.1–3 and 12.2–3. *uetus . . . malum*, as at 2.32.2 (and cf. Sen. *Ep.* 61.1), is equivalent to *uetus morbus* (a common phrase in Celsus) and means a 'chronic disease' (*OLD uetus* 3b, *malum* 7b), introducing a series of such metaphors (see below) which are picked up by *remedio* at 17.2.

seditionum . . . causa *causa*, which has various medical meanings (Langslow 189), helps to sustain the metaphor of disease: *seditio* and *discordia* are the 'complications' or 'exacerbations', as it were, caused by the initial malady; for their coupling see 6.3.2n. (*an*).

cohibebatur . . . minus corruptis moribus The verb is used of 'checking the spread of a disease' (*OLD* 5b), while *corrumpo* is used of injury or infection (*OLD* 1b, 2a); the year's narrative will end with the same abl. phrase (27.4).

16.2 Nam primo duodecim tabulis sanctum . . . dein rogatione tribunicia . . . postremo uetita uersura These three legislative stages correspond respectively to what is recorded by Livy at 7.16.1 (357 BC), 7.27.3–4 (347 BC) and 7.42.1 (342 BC). T. is our only evidence for the sanction in the XII Tables: see M. H. Crawford (ed.), *Roman statutes* (1996) 2.582 and 686–7 under '???Tabula VIII, 7': 'There is little to be said, except that either you believe Tacitus, in which case you suppose that the measure of the Twelve Tables fell into desuetude and had to be re-enacted; or you do not.'

ne quis unciario faenore amplius exerceret 'that no one should lend at a greater rate than one-twelfth interest': *exercere*, varying *credendi* above, is technical in this sense (*OLD* 6), and *amplius* is frequently found in legal texts. 'An *uncia* was a twelfth, and so *unciarium faenus* must refer to interest paid at a rate of 8⅓ %. Whether this percentage was monthly (giving 100% per annum) or annual is disputed' (Oakley on Liv. 7.16.1 'unciario faenore'). The former is argued for by H. Zehnacker, 'Unciarium faenus (Tacite, *Annales* 6,16)', in *Mélanges de littérature et d'épigraphie latines, d'histoire ancienne et d'archéologie: Hommage à la mémoire de Pierre Wuilleumier* (1980) 353–62, but he is unrepresentative (G. Billeter, *Geschichte des Zinsfusses im griechisch-römischen Altertum bis auf Justinian* (1898)).

cum antea ex libidine locupletium agitaretur The subject is *faenus* (cf. *G.* 26.1 'faenus agitare'), and the expr. continues the variation. *libidine locupletium* is Ciceronian (*Har. Resp.* 42, of Clodius' disreputable associates), the latter term suggesting landed estates (Maltby 345).

rogatione tribunicia 'Legislation by tribunes of the plebs shows that it was largely plebeians whose interests, as debtors, were involved' (Martin).

Multisque plebis scitis Nipperdey emended to *plebi*, arguing that *plebis*, when combined with *scitum*, is so rare that it must be a scribal error – although rarity is not always a good line of argument in the case of T. In fact *plebis scitum* (*–a*) is not as rare as Nipperdey would have us believe, and, although *plebi* is transmitted in the only two other exs. of abl. *scitis* (Liv. 3.55.3, 7.42.2), *plebis* appears as a variant in the latter.

miras per artes For the order see 5.1.3n. (*Sanctitate*).

16.3 Sed tum returns us to the main narrative of 33 after the short digression.

Gracchus Whether this is the C. Gracchus who reappears two years later (38.4) is not known.

multitudine periclitantium 'by the number of defendants' (as 3.25.1 and n.), a sense of *periclitor* (*TLL* 10.1.1448.3off.) of which T. is fond (G–G 1103a).

trepidique patres (neque enim quisquam tali culpa uacuus) An action replay of the previous year – 9.3 'contremuerantque patres (nam quotus quisque . . . expers erat?)' – but for a different reason. Though it was traditionally *equites* who were involved in commerce and the like, it is clear that senators too, many of whom were immensely rich, were involved: Seneca is a classic example (14.53.5). In general see J. H. D'Arms, *Commerce and social standing in ancient Rome* (1981). *culpa uacuus* is Sallustian (*C.* 14.4 'a culpa uacuus', recurring at Apul. *Met.* 10.10.2).

et concedente Pichena emended *et* to *eo*, but the sense is clear and T. likes these one-word abl. abs. constructions (1.29.2n.).

quis . . . rationes familiares . . . componerent The expr. looks technical, but *TLL* quotes only *HA Sept. Sev.* 2.3 'ut . . . rem domesticam componeret' (3.2118.47–8). For *quis* see 3.28.2n.

17.1 Hinc inopia rei nummariae Suetonius' version is a little less dramatic (*Tib.* 48.1 'magna difficultate nummaria'). *res nummaria* = 'currency' or 'coin supply' (Cic. *Off.* 3.80, *Verr.* 4.11, Suet. *Aug.* 41.1).

commoto simul omnium aere alieno *commouere* is technically used of moving money around but here is being applied in an extended sense of calling in debts (*OLD* 4b, *TLL* 3.1951.6–8). *simul omnium* indicates the speed with which money-lenders acted, in order to take advantage of the 18-month grace period allowed by the *princeps*.

et quia . . . attinebatur 'Another independent cause of the scarcity of money is added. The events of the last year had led to so many condemnations and confiscations for conspiracy or treason, that the treasuries were gorged, and the money in circulation proportionately diminished' (Furneaux). There is an implied contrast with the policy of Augustus (Suet. *Aug.* 41.1 'quotiens ex damnatorum bonis pecunia superflueret, usum eius gratuitum iis qui cauere in duplum possent ad certum tempus indulsit'). The *uariatio* with the preceding abl. abs. is a characteristic of Livy (Oakley on 6.1.2) as well as T. (Sörbom 115, Martin (1953) 92).

signatum argentum 'silver coin' (cf. *H.* 2.82.1 'aurum argentumque signatur'; *OLD signatus*).

fisco uel aerario See 6.2.1n.

Ad hoc senatus praescripserat duas quisque faenoris partes . . . conlocaret 'In addition to this the senate had prescribed

that each person should invest two-thirds of his capital in land across Italy': for the meaning of *faenus* here (again at 14.53.5, 14.55.4, *H.* 1.20.1) see *TLL* 6.1.483.8ff.; *conlocare* is a technical term (*OLD* 10b). Suetonius' account differs in two respects: he attributes the initiative to Tib. himself and he has the prescription consisting of two clauses instead of just one (*Tib.* 48.1): 'cum per senatum sanxisset [sc. Tiberius] ut faeneratores duas patrimonii partes in solo collocarent, *debitores totidem aeris alieni statim soluerent*, nec res expediretur' (see further next n.). *ad hoc* = 'in addition to this' is Sallustian, although several commentators here prefer 'in response to this'. *praescribere* is not elsewhere followed directly by a subjunctive without *ut* or *ne* (*TLL* 10.2.827.31–2); since *ut* could easily have been omitted here by mistake after *praescripserat*, it is tempting to supply it.

*** **[17.2] Sed creditores in solidum appellabant, nec decorum appellatis minuere fidem** *in solidum* is a set phrase = 'for the full amount' (*OLD solidus* 9b), and *appellare* is another technical term (*OLD* 5a); but the contrast with the preceding sentence has caused trouble. Nipperdey assumed a lacuna in which T. mentioned the second clause of the senatorial prescription (italicised above, 1n. *Ad hoc*); but in Furneaux's view 'Tacitus may perhaps have considered such a clause to be implied in what he has stated'. The latter seems extremely difficult and, albeit reluctantly, I have sided with Nipperdey. The aim of the senate's intervention was to encourage 'uenditio et emptio' (below) but, as T. goes on to explain, the measure did nothing to improve the supply of currency.

For the repetition of a verb by its participle (*appellabant* ~ *appellatis*) see Wills 311ff.; for *minuere fidem* cf. *Rhet. Herenn.* 4.32, Quint. 5.7.16.

***pr*imo concursatio et *pr*eces, dein strepere *pr*aetoris tribunal** 'First men ran from one money-lender to another with entreaties for money or time; then the praetor's court rang with notices of suits for debt' (Furneaux). T.'s vividness (cf. Plato, *Rep.* 564d περὶ τὰ βήματα προσίζον βομβεῖ, where the image is of bees: see Brock 160 and n. 134) again contrasts with Suetonius (*Tib.* 48.1 'populo auxilium flagitante').

omnem pecuniam . . . condiderant i.e. *all* their money, not merely the two-thirds which the senate had instructed. *condere* = 'store up' and seems not esp. technical (Cic. *Clu.* 72, *Leg. Agr.* 2.69, Sen. *Ep.* 87.18): the purpose for which the money was stored up is expressed by the dat. gerundive (3.25.1n.).

17.3 Copiam uendendi Martin, following Furneaux, suggests that this phrase means 'glut of selling', but *copia* + gen. gerund seems restricted to the meaning 'opportunity for ~ ' (*TLL* 4.909.23ff., listing our passage).

quanto quis obaeratior, aegrius distrahebant 'the more each person was in debt, the harder it was for them to sell'. The comparative adj. is found

only here; the use of *quis* as equivalent to *quisque* recurs after *quanto* at 1.2.1, 1.7.1, 1.57.1, *H.* 3.58.2 and Plin. *Ep.* 8.2.8 and is analogous to its use after *ut* (for which see Malloch on 11.7.1; L–H–S 202–3); *tanto* has to be supplied in the main clause, as again at 34.3 and often in T. (H. on *H.* 2.78.4; K–S 2.484–5, L–H–S 591); *distrahere*, here being used absolutely (*OLD* 4), is technical and varies *uendendi* above. The whole expr. could scarcely be more 'Tacitean'.

fortunis prouoluebantur 'were toppled from their fortunes': T. is evidently alone in using the verb in this particular metaphorical sense (*TLL* 10.2.2361.41–2), which is picked up in *euersio* and *praeceps dabat* below.

euersio rei familiaris dignitatem ac famam praeceps dabat *euersio* suggests overturning, so that high becomes low, but, like the verb (cf. Cic. *Quinct.* 53 'fortunas funditus euertere', [Quint.] *Decl.* 13.12 'euersosque reditus'), seems to have a special application to finances and the like (cf. Sen. *Tranq. An.* 9.3 'paupertas et ignominia et rerum euersio'). Membership of the senatorial and equestrian orders depended on one's financial qualification (*census*; cf. 2.33.3), and *dignitas* was as applicable to the equestrians as to the senators (both together at Cic. *Att.* 1.17.9 'de ordinum dignitate'; see Hellegouarc'h 457–8). *fama* was a natural concomitant of *dignitas* (cf. *Agr.* 44.4, *D.* 5.4, Cic. *Fam.* 12.22.2, Liv. 28.44.12, Plin. *Ep.* 5.13.2, [Quint.] *Decl.* 269.8). *dare praeceps* (adv.) for the earlier and regular *dare praecipitem/–es* (as Ter. *Ad.* 318) first occurs at Sen. *Ira* 1.7.4.

donec tulit opem Caesar The ongoing crisis, described by the impf. *dabat* (above), is dramatically interrupted by the *princeps*' intervention, for which T. combines his favoured '*donec* de rupture' (3.31.4n.) with the fronted verb (Chausserie-Laprée 632–3). The nature of the intervention is given in an appendix consisting of a double abl. abs. (next n.).

disposito . . . milies sestertio factaque . . . per triennium Cf. Suet. *Tib.* 48.1 'proposito milies sestertium gratuito in trienni tempus', Dio 58.21.5 τό τε πρᾶγμα τὸ κατὰ τὰ δανείσματα ἐμετρίασε, καὶ δισχιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας μυριάδας τῷ δημοσίῳ ἔδωκεν ὥστ' αὐτὰς ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν βουλευτῶν ἀτοκεὶ τοῖς δεομένοις ἐς τρία ἔτη ἐκδανεισθῆναι.

si debitor populo in duplum praediis cauisset 'if the debtor provided to the people guarantees of his estates for twice the amount.' The expr. is variously technical: cf. Cic. *II Verr.* 1.142 'praediis populo cautum est', Suet. *Aug.* 41.1 'qui cauere in duplum possent'; *OLD caueo* 8a.

17.4 Sic refecta fides Cf. Vell. 126.2 'reuocata in forum fides' (and W. ad loc.), on Tib.'s accession in AD 14.

Neque . . . ad formam senatus consulti 'not . . . according to the set procedure of the senate's decision' (*OLD forma* 12a): the words look back to *legem . . . omissam olim* at the start of the episode (16.1). See also next n.

acribus (ut ferme talia) initiis, incurioso fine 'A typically Tacitean coda', as Martin remarks; despite the parenthesis, it reverses the proverbial 'quale principium, talis et clausula' (Jer. *Ep.* 69.9; Otto 287 no. 1472, Tosi 380 no. 812): cf. *H.* 2.72.1 'non ultra paucos dies, quamquam acribus initiis coeptum, mendacium ualuit'. For the elliptical *ut ferme* (again 2.2.1) cf. Liv. 7.2.4 'ut ferme principia omnia'.

18.1 Dein redeunt priores metus The point is not that the financial episode had provided a respite from fear (cf. 16.1, 3) but that its fears had been of a different kind; now, as the appended abl. abs. says, *maiestas* returns. *metus* is varied by *pauore* below (Sörbom 24 for other exs.).

Considio Proculo Two years earlier an ex-praetor, whom T. named merely as Considius, levelled the charge of friendship with Sejanus' son against the poet P. Pomponius Secundus, who was stood bail by his brother (5.8.1–2); here a Considius Proculus is accused and killed, while his sister is exiled on the accusation of Q. Pomponius Secundus, who was trying to win official favour and ameliorate the plight of his brother, the poet. The question arises: are the two Considii the same person? Although identity is impossible to prove, Syme answered in the affirmative (*RP* 4.238–9). The present episode looks like the converse of, and revenge for, the earlier one, and the absence of any cross-reference backwards seems insufficient grounds for doubt. Nothing else is known of Proculus.

diem natalem celebrans Since it was conventional on Roman birthdays to wish the celebrant many future years of life (Tib. 1.7.63–4 and Murgatroyd ad loc.), the speed with which Proculus is seized and despatched is heavily ironical.

pariterque . . . interfectusque *pariter* = 'simultaneously' or 'in one swift movement' (*OLD* 4). For sentence-final *–que* see 3.34.5n.

aqua atque igni interdictum The expr. is said to 'stand for exile which involved loss of citizenship, loss of property, and commonly, though not invariably, banishment to an island. This was the regular penalty laid down by the Senate for *maiestas* when death was not exacted' (Garnsey 112–13).

Q. Pomponio Q. Pomponius Secundus became suffect consul in 41 and was involved in the unsuccessful conspiracy of 42 (13.43.2). See *RE* 21.2349–50 = Pomponius 72 (Hanslik), *PIR* 6.333–4 no. 757.

moribus inquies The adj. is 'a choicer alternative to *inquietus*' (1.65.1n.); cf. Sen. *Ira* 3.5.1 'inquietis moribus'.

haec et <alia> huiusce modi a se factitari praetendebat There seems to be no scholarly comment on the text as transmitted by M, but, as

Prof. Oakley points out, the regular phrase is *alia huiusce modi*, which occurs 3× elsewhere in T. (1.14.2, 2.30.2, *H.* 3.8.3) and 5× in Sallust (*J.* 32.1 'haec atque alia huiusce modi', 84.4, *C.* 15.1, 51.40, *H.* 1.77.5; cf. *alia omnia huiusce modi* at *J.* 2.2 and 4.7), from whom T. evidently took it. There is no parallel for the omission of *alia* or for any similar ellipse: it seems that the word has been dropped from the text by mistake.

periculis . . . mederetur The medical metaphor (as Lentulus *ap.* Cic. *Fam.* 12.15.4 'periculo . . . mederi') sustains the notion of disease (cf. 16.1n. *magna*). P. Pomponius in fact survived Tiberius (5.8.2n.).

18.2 Pompeiam Macrinam Nothing is known about her husband or father-in-law; for her other family relations see further below.

Pater quoque inlustris eques Romanus ac frater praetorius These and the other family relations mentioned in this and the following sentence are exceptionally complicated and controversial and have been discussed in great detail by P. White, '"Pompeius Macer" and Ovid', *CQ* 42 (1992) 210–18. It will be convenient to begin with Pompeia Macrina's praetorian brother.

T. at 1.72.3 refers to a Pompeius Macer who was praetor in AD 15 and whose praenomen is known from a contemporary inscription (*ILS* 9349) to have been Quintus. It is generally (but not universally) assumed that this man is the *frater praetorius* of Pompeia Macrina to whom T. refers in our passage, although the identification is not without its problematic implications (White 213).

According to Strabo 13.2.3, who is our only other source, Theophanes (to whom T. refers below) left a son (υἱόν), Pompeius, whom Augustus appointed to be equestrian procurator of Asia and who at the time of Strabo's writing was amongst the foremost of Tib.'s friends.[65] It is generally thought that this Pompeius is identical with the *inlustris eques Romanus* who is said by T. to be the father of Pompeia Macrina. Unfortunately, however, T. also says in the next sentence that Theophanes was the *proauus* of Pompeia's brother: some scholars have therefore wished to emend Strabo's text to υἱωνόν, so that Pompeius becomes the grandson of Theophanes; however, as White points out (212–13), it is very odd practice to change the text of a contemporary author on the basis of what is apparently said by an author writing a century later.

Having said that the father and brother committed suicide when condemnation threatened, T. in the next sentence writes: 'datum erat crimini

[65] Strabo seems to have been writing in AD 17/18 and to have completed his work in AD 23 (see Pothecary). Since there are further problems with the names of the son mentioned by Strabo, I have called him simply Pompeius, on which everyone agrees.

quod Theophanen Mytilenaeum proauum eorum Cn. Magnus inter intimos habuisset'. Furneaux explains (and the silence of many others suggests that they agree with him) that *eorum* refers to Pompeia and her brother; but it is absurd to leap-frog back to Pompeia and to omit one of the two men whose case has just been mentioned in the immediately preceding sentence. Just as *datum erat crimini* looks back to *cum damnatio instaret* in the sentence referring to the two men's suicide, so *eorum* ought clearly to look back to *se ipsi interfecere*. The difficulty with this, of course, is that 'great-grandfather' is not applicable to the father of Pompeia and her brother. Nipperdey, who believed that *eorum* included Pompeia as well as her brother and father, recognised this difficulty and offered two solutions. Pointing to a similar case at 13.43.5 ('nam filio et nepti pars concedebatur eximebanturque etiam quae testamento matris aut auiae acceperant'), he observed that the words *aut auum* could very easily have dropped out here after *proauum*. His alternative suggestion was that *proauum* is being used in the loose sense of 'ancestor', and he compared Cic. *Fam.* 3.11.5, Liv. 34.58.5 and Curt. 6.11.26. Although the Livy passage is not relevant (see Briscoe ad loc.), Sen. *Ben.* 4.32.2 is quoted as a further prose ex. in *TLL* 10.2.1444.5–26, where the Tacitean passage here is also listed.

The conclusion of this discussion is as follows: although it is likely that Pompeia Macrina's brother was Q. Pompeius Macer, the praetor of 15, it is not certain whether the Augustan procurator Pompeius mentioned by Strabo was their 'distinguished equestrian father' or their grandfather; either way, their common ancestor was Theophanes. For further discussion see White; Syme, agreeing about Pompeia's brother, argued that their father (in full Cn. Pompeius Macer) was identical with the Augustan procurator, that Theophanes was their grandfather, and that T. had made a mistake in calculating the intervening generations (*Tac.* 748–9, *AA* 361, *RP* 4.239). There is an extensive stemma, described as provisional, at *PIR* 6.274.

cum damnatio instaret The expr. seems restricted to T. (again at 15.35.3, 16.8.3).

quod . . . habuisset quodque . . . tribuerat The change of mood seems to be 'variation pure and simple' (1.44.5n., referring to Sörbom 105–8 for further exs.), although some comm. see a distinction between allegation and fact.

quod Theophanen Mytilenaeum . . . Cn. Magnus inter intimos habuisset A 'pre-echo' of the relationship which Tib. had enjoyed with Theophanes' descendant (see above): cf. Strabo 13.2.3 καὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἐξετάζεται τῶν Τιβερίου φίλων. Theophanes accompanied Pompey on his campaign against Mithridates in 67 BC, of which he was the historian, and was rewarded by being given Roman citizenship by Pompey, with whom he is

said to have enjoyed considerable influence (sceptical remarks in V. I. Anastasiadis, 'Theophanes and Mytilene's freedom reconsidered: a postscript', *Tekmeria* 3 (1997) 165–9). See *RE* 5A.2090–2127 = Theophanes 1 (Laqueur), *BNP* 14.502–3 [Theophanes 1]; also next n.

defuncto Theophani caelestes honores Graeca adulatio tribuerat 'In the Greek-speaking world it had been for at least three centuries quite normal to honour benefactors by calling them gods (θεός) and even by offering sacrifice. When the Roman aristocracy took over those countries from the Hellenistic monarchs, they also inherited this form of honour . . . They might dismiss it as *Graeca adulatio*: but they were familiar with it and understood its significance' (I. M. Le M. Du Quesnay, 'Vergil's First Eclogue', *PLLS* 3 (1981) 102, with abundant evidence). Thus T.'s slur is perhaps more personal than generally representative (see e.g. Syme, *Tac.* 504ff., esp. 513–14). Theophanes' benefaction was the role he had played in Mytilene's regaining its freedom (Vell. 2.18.3 'quibus libertas in unius Theophanis gratiam postea a Pompeio restituta est', Strabo 13.2.3, Plut. *Pomp.* 42.4), and there is considerable inscriptional and numismatic evidence of his divine styling (e.g. *IG* 12.163b). See also L. Robert, 'Théophane de Mytilène à Constantinople', *CRAI* 113 (1969) 42–64, esp. 47ff.

19.1 Sex. Marius, Hispaniarum ditissimus In AD 25 Marius had been the victim of an accuser, but Tib., whose friend he was (Dio 58.22.2), had intervened and the accuser was exiled (4.36.1). In the present passage he is associated with Spain and mining, and from inscriptions we know of a 'procurator montis Mariani' (*CILA* 2.25) in Hispalis (mod. Seville) and a 'procurator massae Marianae' (*CIL* 14.52 = *ILS* 1592); for a *tessera hospitalis* displaying the name 'Sex. Marius' see W. Eck and F. Fernández, 'Sex. Marius in einem Hospitiumvertrag aus der Baetica', *ZPE* 85 (1991) 217–22. He was a very significant entrepreneur. See esp. Champlin (2015: 278–9), who suggests that he is the son of the T. Mercello Persinus Marius who is known from *CIL* 2^2.5.296 (the first attestation of the title *procurator Augusti*) and 2^2.7.311; note also *RE* 14.1821 = Marius 28 (Stein), *PIR* 5.201–2 no. 295, *BNP* 8.367 [II 3]; Hirt 77, 163, 335–6; and below.

***de*fertur incestasse filiam et saxo Tarpeio *de*icitur** According to Dio (58.22.3–4) the *princeps* had wanted the daughter for himself and, when Marius segregated her to prevent this from happening, he was accused of having violated her himself and both he and the daughter were killed. Now, although incest was a familiar literary and declamatory topic (Breij 62–73), e.g. [Quint.] *Decl.* 289 'Amator filiae' (the one surviving declamation involving father/daughter incest), Champlin (2015: 291–4) has pointed out (a) that there is no evidence (apart from the present case) that father/daughter incest was a crime in Roman law, and (b) that being thrown from the Tarpeian Rock is

elsewhere the punishment for treason (whether *maiestas* or *perduellio*). Champlin concludes (c) that the story of Marius' incest is a fictional composite of various folklore motifs, and (d) that Marius was yet another of those prosecuted for involvement with Sejanus.

The nomin. + infin. with *deferor* is 'peculiarly Tacitean' (2.27.1n., quoting also 3.22.1, 13.23.1). Book 6 will close with the converse form of incest, that of mother and son (cf. 49.1 and n.).

malo uertisse 'had turned out badly', 'had turned out to be his undoing' (the latter trans. borrowed from Shackleton Bailey on Cic. *Att.* 14.22.1 'clementiam . . . malo fuisse'). T.'s expr. is unparalleled, but *uerto* (intrans.) is common in this sense (*OLD* 18b) and is elsewhere found with a predic. dat. (e.g. *uitio* at Cic. *Fam.* 7.6.1, Hor. *S.* 1.6.85, Gell. 13.24.2); for *malo* cf. *OLD malum* 1d (but not listed in *TLL* 8.231.68–75). For *ne dubium haberetur* see 3.67.1n.

aurarias <aerarias>que eius It is clear from *–que* that a word has been mistakenly omitted either before or after *aurarias* (a term for 'goldmine' which elsewhere is found only in inscriptions in the classical period: *TLL* 2.1481.21–9). Spain was famous for its mines of various types (C. Domergue, *Les mines de la péninsule ibérique dans l'antiquité romaine* (1990), Hirt 546–7 [index]), but it is impossible to be absolutely certain about the precise type to which the missing word refers. Koestermann thought that Marius' position as 'the richest man in the Spains' required a reference to silver mines. Ritter and Bezzenberger preferred *aerarias* since the elder Pliny tells us that at Cordoba, which seems to have been the centre of Marius' operations, there was a type of copper called *aes Marianum* (*NH* 34.4): in view of Marius' significance and the frequency with which his name appears in the surviving evidence (see above), *aerarias* seems the more likely supplement. Since gold (unlike copper and silver) was not to be found in Baetica, Marius' goldmines 'should be sought to the Northwest, in Lusitania or Tarraconensis' (Champlin (2015) 279 n. 8), thus confirming the plural *Hispaniarum* in T.

quamquam publicarentur, sibimet Tiberius seposuit In his discussion of *bona damnatorum* Brunt argued that, since T. again uses *seponere* to describe the status of Egypt (2.59.3), which 'was in some sense "public"', it follows that 'we are not obliged to hold that the mines ceased to be in public ownership; Tiberius simply decided to manage and exploit them through his own agents' (145, accepted by Hirt 84–5). The crucial difference between the two passages, however, is that at 2.59.3 there is no dative, whereas here *seposuit* is accompanied by the emphatic *sibimet*. Cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1314b16–18 ὅλως τε αὐτὸν παρασκευάζειν φύλακα καὶ ταμίαν ὡς κοινῶν ἀλλὰ μὴ ὡς ἰδίων.

19.2 Inritatusque suppliciis Nipperdey, like some predecessors, saw the image as that of a wild animal, roused by the taste of blood, but he quoted

no parallels for this use of *inritare*, which are in fact hard to find (see *TLL* 7.2.429.12–37). Perhaps the reference is simply to the piquing of the appetite (like *inritamenta gulae* at *H.* 2.62.1), preparing for the dominant image of the narrative as it unfolds (above, pp. 148–9); see also below on Seneca (n. *Interciderat*). There is an interestingly similar passage at Liv. 24.25.9 'irarum indulgentes ministri, qui auidos atque intemperantes suppliciorum animos ad sanguinem et caedes inritent'.

accusati societatis cum Seiano There is perhaps some irony in T.'s choice of wording, since Tib. himself had called Sejanus his *socius laborum* (4.2.3).

Iacuit immensa strages According to Suetonius (*Tib.* 61.4), 'nemo punitorum non in Gemonias abiectus uncoque tractus, uiginti uno die abiecti tractique, inter eos feminae et pueri', with which the *Fasti Ostienses* for August of this year, if they have been correctly supplemented, agree (EJ p. 43: *A*]*ug. coniur. Seian*[*i exstincta e*]*t compl*[*ures in s*]*calis* [*Gemon. iacuerunt . . .*]).[66] Nipperdey believed that T.'s *iacuit* was to be understood similarly, but *dispersi aut aggerati* below suggests a much broader panorama, and the scene is far more graphic without any local restriction. *iacuit* (fronted for emphasis) suggests an extensive landscape as well as lying in death (*OLD* 12, 6) and is significantly more vivid than *H.* 1.47.2 'per stragem iacentium', which, like *immensa strages* here (~ Sil. 9. 137–8), is borrowed from Silius, who has the same or similar phraseology several times and presumably derived it from Liv. 26.6.2 ('per stragem iacentium', of elephants). The connection between verb and noun is brought out at Liv. 23.24.13 'stratae per omnem iacentis agminis ordinem inuentae sunt'; the intervening *immensa* is in turn explained by *omnis . . . aggerati* below, thus completing a form of interlacing or synchesis. See also E. Keitel in O. Devillers (ed.), *Les* opera minora *et le développement de l'historiographie tacitéenne* (2014) 65–6.

omnis sexus, omnis aetas To depict the overwhelming and comprehensive nature of the scene T. juxtaposes three paired expressions: the first contains two complementary items linked by anaphoric exaggeration, the second and third (below) contain two sets of opposites, the former linked by alliteration, the latter by *aut.* For the exaggeration (avoided at 4.62.2 'uirile ac muliebre secus, omnis aetas', *H.* 5.13.3) cf. [Quint.] *Decl.* 11.10 'omnis sexus, omnis aetas', 12.15 'continuis funeribus omnis sexus atque aetas semel sternitur', Apul. *Met.* 7.13.2.

[66] It nevertheless seems extremely odd if the inscription did indeed read *coniuratio Seiani exstincta et . . .* , since the suppression of the conspiracy had taken place two years earlier; for some further doubts about the restoration of this text (*Inscr. Ital.* 13.1, p. 189) see 27.2n. (*Extremo*) below.

19.3 Neque . . . diutius dabatur The three paired expressions (above) are here echoed by three infinitives, which in turn are balanced by the guards' three actions (*circumiecti*, *intenti*, *adsectabantur*). *diutius* does not imply that these were new restrictions, introduced in 33, but (as may be gathered from the tense of *dabatur*) alludes to the continuation of the restrictions inferred in the previous year (10.1n. *ne*). *adsistere* is here used in its special sense of standing by as a supporter (*OLD* 3c). For the whole scene in this long and notable sentence cf. Diod. 20.72.4 τὸ δὲ πάντων χαλεπώτατον, πολλῶν ἀναιρεθέντων καὶ παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐρριμμένων τῶν σωμάτων οὔτε συγγενὴς οὐδεὶς οὔτε φίλος ἐτόλμα τινὰ κηδεύειν, φοβούμενος μὴ δόξῃ προσαγγέλλειν ἑαυτὸν μετέχοντα τῆς ἐκείνων οἰκειότητος.

dum in Tiberim traherentur The subjunc. may be just T.'s regular substitution for the indic. (5.11.2n.), but here is more effective if it represents the intention of soldiers determined to perform their grisly duty. For throwing corpses into the Tiber as a punishment see S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (1971) 348 n. 1.

fluitantia aut ripis adpulsa These two actions of the corpses are balanced by the two non-actions of those on the banks, where anaphora and alliteration close the scene before the sententious conclusion. For *fluitantia* cf. Plin. *NH* 7.77 'uirorum cadauera supina fluitare, feminarum prona'.

Interciderat sortis humanae commercium ui metus This could mean *either* 'the intercourse of the human lot had been lost to [*lit.* because of] the violence of fear' *or* 'fear by its violence had severed the intercourse of the human lot'. The former (so *TLL* 7.1.2161.15) seems statistically more likely (T. uses *intercīdo* elsewhere only at 16.14.3 'intercisis uenis', as against five other exs. of *intercĭdo*), but the latter (so *TLL* 3.1877.73–4) is more vivid. That the latter is intended is suggested by Sen. *Ben.* 7.19.8 '*intercisa* iuris *humani* societas': not only is T. greatly influenced by Seneca in general but this passage is describing the figure of the tyrant and has much in common with our text (e.g. 'sanguine humano non tantum gaudet sed pascitur, sed et *suppliciis omnium aetatium* crudelitatem insatiabilem exercet'), including the language used.

quantumque saeuitia glisceret, miseratio arcebatur *saeuitia* is one of the defining features of the tyrant (thus in the Seneca passage just quoted: 'auiditate quadam saeuiendi furit'; also, out of countless exs., *Clem.* 1.12.1 'tyrannis saeuitia cordi est'); *miseratio* and similar words are a natural complement or opposite (e.g. 11.12.1 'Agrippinae miseratio augebatur ob saeuitiam Messalinae', Sen. *Contr.* 2.5.6 'miseram corporis patientiam inter tyrannica tormenta saeuientia'). For T.'s favoured *gliscere* see 3.19.2n., Malloch on 11.22.5; the subjunc. is said to be frequentative. For a similar *epiphonema* see 1.75.1 'dum ueritati consulitur, libertas corrumpebatur'; for T.'s deployment of *sententiae* see

R. Kirchner, *Sentenzen im Werk des Tacitus* (2001); Oakley, *CCT* 202–3 with n. 28; *Agr.* Intro. pp. 31–2 and n. 106.

20.1 Sub idem tempus With the exception of Plin. *Ep.* 5.14.9, this phrase is found exclusively in historical texts: *Bell. Alex.* (5×), Livy (26×), Vell. (1), Suet. (5×). It is common in T. (3.48.1n.) and, like *per idem tempus* (3.29.1n.), implies an indeterminate chronological relationship with what precedes. The dating problems of this section are in fact insoluble: see next n.

C. Caesar, discedenti Capreis auo comes, Claudiam . . . coniugio accepit The transmitted *discedenti Capreas* is significantly more difficult than scholars have allowed. (a) According to Dio (58.25.2), Caligula's wedding took place at Antium and was attended by Tib. Since the *princeps* would return to Capri after the wedding, the Latin could conceivably mean: 'Caligula, companion of his grandfather (who was in the process of withdrawing to Capri), married Claudia.' But the word order tells against this; and it is odd that T. uses *discedere* rather than (as at 6.1.1) a verb such as *repetere*. (b) According to Suetonius (*Cal.* 10.1), Caligula was summoned to the *princeps*' company on Capri in his nineteenth year, i.e. at some point between 31 August 30 (his eighteenth birthday) and 30 August 31. Since this is several years after Tib. first set foot on the island, the present participle seems entirely wrong; but even a past participle such as *degresso* would be odd, since we no longer need to be reminded that the *princeps* had previously withdrawn to Capri. (c) Some translators, evidently sensing these difficulties, suggest that *discedenti* is a substantival participle: 'companion to his grandfather's departure for Capri' (Damon). But this does not work, [i] because the dative in this construction is very rare (K–S 1.768), [ii] because there is an appreciable difference between e.g. Cic. *Att.* 7.11.4 'fugiens denique Pompeius mirabiliter homines mouet' (Pompey's flight is, or is imagined as, ongoing) and our passage (Tib.'s withdrawing is clearly not ongoing). (d) I suggest that T. wrote *Capreis*: 'Caligula, accompanying his grandfather on his departure from Capri, married Claudia' (for the abl. cf. *H.* 2.54.2; *TLL* 5.1.1280.39–47). In other words, T. does not here mention Caligula's summons to the island, which, if mentioned at all, will have been in the lost part of Book 5; *discedenti Capreis* refers to the visit to Antium mentioned by Dio. The scribe wrote *Capreas* because, after *discedenti*, it seemed the natural thing to do.

Barrett (*Caligula* 32 and n. 63) says that T. 'provides the date' for Caligula's marriage to Claudia, but Dio records it under the year 35, which he identifies by correctly naming the consuls as Cestius Gallus and Servilius Nonianus (28.25.2). Suetonius' timing of the marriage is unclear (*Cal.* 12.1), but he dates it before Caligula's designation as augur, which itself is of unknown date (Rüpke 584 and n. 2): Hurley ad loc. thinks that Suetonius is assigning the marriage to a moment shortly after the year 30/31, and Martin (on our passage) agrees.

There is no way of reconciling these three quite different dates for the marriage; nor is it known at what point in the year the marriage took place.

Claudiam, M. Silani filiam M. Iunius Silanus had been suffect in AD 15 (3.24.3n.). His daughter's name in full was Junia Claudilla (Suet. *Cal.* 12.1); her death is mentioned in passing at 45.3 below (AD 37). See *RE* 10.1112 = Iunius 199 (Hohl), *PIR* 4.360 no. 857, *BNP* 6.1090 [Iunia 5]; Raepsaet-Charlier 402–3 no. 470.

immanem animum The adj. suggests a nature which is both monstrous and feral (cf. Cic. *Rep.* 2.27 'ad humanitatem atque mansuetudinem reuocauit animos hominum studiis bellandi iam immanis ac feros'; also [Sall.] *Ep. Caes.* 2.4.2, Sil. 17.113). Suetonius famously applied the term *monstrum* to Caligula (*Cal.* 22.1), who, ironically, had these qualities inherent also in his name, since 'Germanicus' was thought to be associated with *immanitas* (Maltby 257).

non . . . rupta uoce The elder Agrippina and her son Nero had been condemned in 29 (5.3.1–2); her death and that of Caligula's other brother, Drusus, will be recorded later in 33 (23.3, 25.1): since neither brother was exiled, Nipperdey's *exitio* is clearly right. *rumpere uocem* = 'to break into speech' (*OLD rumpo* 5b); see Horsfall on Virg. *Aen.* 11.377.

qualem diem Tiberius induisset, pari habitu, haud multum distantibus uerbis This reading of M is printed by most editors and is taken to mean: 'whatever kind of day Tiberius had slipped into, he would be in like fashion, his words differing hardly at all'. Although T. is especially fond of metaphors of clothing and discarding, some scholars have found 'to don a day' hard to take and have wished to understand *habitum* (agreeing with *qualem*) as the object of *induisset*. Thus Vertranius proposed *die* and Barth anticipated Huet in inserting *in* before *diem* ('every day'); the latter was supported in elegant Latin by J. Willis ('Emendationum tacitearum heptas', in N. Horsfall (ed.), *Vir bonus discendi peritus*, *BICS* Suppl. 51 (1988) 157) and was regarded by Watt, who had made the same proposal independently (354), as 'one of the easiest and most certain emendations ever made in the text of Tacitus'. One awkwardness with each of these proposals is that it is not immediately obvious that *qualem . . . habitu* is to be understood metaphorically (contrast 4.12.1 and Sen. *Ep.* 113.14, where *habitum induere* recurs): indeed Barth in his note felt obliged to head off the notion that Caligula was imitating Tib.'s dress. Another difficulty is that T. regularly repeats words or phrases in close proximity and the same phrase *qualem diem* recurs at 21.2 almost immediately below (and cf. 3.16.2, where it occurs again). It may further be objected against Barth's insertion of *in* that it is almost impossible not to take *in diem* and *qualem* together, as at Cic. *Att.* 7.7.3 'tua λῆψις quem in diem incurrat nescio', 12.49.3 'horti quem in diem proscripti sint uelim ad me scribas'. The

inevitable, if somewhat improbable, conclusion seems to be that the transmitted text is right. T. combines *induo* with some remarkable and unlikely objects (see e.g. G–G 626b; 1.69.1n.), and the older commentators not inappositely quote Hom. Od. 18.136–7 τοῖος γὰρ νόος ἐστὶν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων, | οἷον ἐπ' ἦμαρ ἄγῃσι πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.

Vnde mox scitum Passieni oratoris dictum percrebruit neque meliorem umquam seruum neque deteriorem dominum fuisse C. Sallustius Crispus Passienus had been suffect in 27 and would be proconsul of Asia in 42/43 and *ordinarius* in 44. He was grandson of the orator and declaimer Passienus (Sen. *Contr.* 2.5.17 'uir eloquentissimus et temporis sui primus orator'), son of L. Passienus Rufus (cos. 4 BC), and adopted by C. Sallustius Crispus, grandnephew and adopted son of the historian Sallust (3.30.1–3nn.). Of his own oratory nothing is known, but a *mot* of his on (appropriately) *adulatio* is quoted by the younger Seneca (*NQ* 4 *praef.* 6; cf. also Quint. 6.1.50, Plin. *Ep.* 7.6.1, and next n.). See *RE* 18.2097–8 = Passienus 2 (Hanslik), *PIR* 6.48–51 no. 146 (helpful stemma on p. 51), *BNP* 12.894–5 [Sallustius II 3a]; Rüpke 876 no. 2966; Syme, *AA* 492 (index).

The same story, though without the attribution of the witticism to Passienus, appears in Suetonius' life of Caligula (10.2 'hic [i.e. on Capri] . . . tanti . . . in auum et qui iuxta erant obsequii ut non inmerito sit dictum nec seruum meliorem ullum nec deteriorem dominum fuisse'), and both versions of the witticism seem almost universally to be interpreted as referring only to Gaius: i.e. he is both the *seruus* and the *dominus*. Such an interpretation is possible only if the witticism was uttered after Caligula had become the *dominus*, and indeed Furneaux says that *mox* means 'after he became princeps'. This is in the highest degree unlikely. Both authors set the story in the context of Capri, long before Gaius became emperor, and in both authors the witticism arises directly from the relationship between Caligula and Tib., which in T. is made explicit (*unde*). Tib. must be the *dominus*, and Caligula the *seruus*. The joke is that Caligula was a good learner but that he was learning from an immoral master, the same point as is repeated at 45.3 below. R. Ash gets it right ('Tacitean fusion: Tiberius the satirist?', in T. D. Papanghelis et al. (edd.), *Generic interfaces in Latin literature* (2013) 436).

The antithetical form of Passienus' witticism is somewhat similar to another of his which is quoted by Sen. *Ben.* 1.15.5 ('quorundam se iudicium malle quam beneficium, quorundam beneficium malle quam iudicium'). For *scitum* see Plin. *NH* 36.166 'sciteque dictum', Fronto p. 154.11 vdH² 'quaedam . . . scite dicta'.

20.2–22.4 *Galba, Thrasyllus and fate.* The central section of the year's narrative consists of three connected elements: Tiberius' prediction about Galba's imperial future (20.2) leads to a description of the astrologer Thrasyllus (21),

which in turn is followed by a discussion of fate and chance (22). The discussion closes (22.4) with echoes of the beginning (20.2), framing the whole section by means of ring composition: *Thrasullum* ~ *Thrasulli*, *praesagium* ~ *praedictum*, *imperium* ~ *imperium*, *Non omiserim* ~ *ne . . . longius abierim*. At the same time, the prediction about Galba is expressed strikingly in metaphorical terms of food, which will constitute a dominant theme in the subsequent narrative (20.2 *degustabis* ~ 23.1 *egestate cibi*).

Although the three elements of the section follow one another logically, Tiberius' prediction about Galba's future, from which all the rest depends, does not belong to the present year but is placed here only because Galba was consul in this year (20.2n. *Non*); it could equally well have been placed at some other suitable point in the *Annals*. The story of Thrasyllus relates to the *princeps*' sojourn on the island of Rhodes, more than thirty years earlier and outside the scope of the *Annals* altogether. The discussion of fate and chance could, of its very nature, have been placed almost anywhere and is acknowledged by its closing formula to be digressive (22.4n. *ne nunc*). It is thus a matter of some interest that the long central section of the year's narrative has nothing (apart perhaps from the words *tum consule* at 20.2) intrinsic to the year at all. This curiosity invites the question why the section is here. One could argue that Tiberius' devotion to astrology is highly relevant to his role as *princeps*, and some modern scholars have certainly suggested that Thrasyllus' role as his adviser deserves more recognition than it usually receives. But these considerations do nothing to explain the long discussion of fate and chance (22.1–3).

Syme and Koestermann both report the well-known verdict of E. Fraenkel that T.'s discussion of these matters is nothing more than 'halbgelehrtes Beiwerk'.[67] But T. is not a philosopher, and we should not expect from him the kind of reflections found in (for example) Cicero's *De Fato*, to which there seem to be allusions (see nn. below); yet this does nothing to explain why he now presents us with his reflections, of whatever kind they may be. It is perhaps helpful to remember that in declamatory rhetoric there was a *locus contra deorum prouidentiam* (Sen. *Suas*. 4.4) and that one of the *quaestiones* with which orators were trained to deal was 'Is the world governed by providence?' (Quint. 3.5.6 'an prouidentia mundus regatur', 7.2.2). It may be inferred from this evidence that discussion of these topics was regarded by contemporaries as being of particular interest: it is significant that the elder Pliny's similar digressive reflections (*NH* 2.22–7), to which Koestermann refers, are concluded with an acknowledgement of this interest ('in haec diuertisse non fuerit alienum,

[67] Syme, *Tac*. 525 n. 6, Koestermann on 22.1, with reference to *Neue Jahrbücher* 8 (1932) 230, repr. in V. Pöschl (ed.), *Tacitus* (1969) 33.

uolgata iam propter adsiduam quaestionem de deo'). T.'s concern for his readers' interests is well attested (38.1n. *Quae*), and there would be no surprise if he decided to include material which he believed his readers were interested in reading for its own sake. *delectatio*, after all, was one of the aims of ancient historiography (Cic. *De Or.* 2.59; Herkommer 135 n. 5), and it is possible that there was a similar discussion in Sisenna (F79C = 123P 'utrumne diui cultu erga se mortalium laetiscant an superne agentes humana neglegant').

Nevertheless there is perhaps more to the digression than *delectatio*. Quintilian, discussing the relevance of natural philosophy to oratory, makes a connection between the *locus de prouidentia* and the government of the state (12.2.21 'si regitur prouidentia mundus, administranda certe bonis uiris erit res publica'), and D. A. Russell's note on this passage[68] points out that in the work of the rhetorical theorist Theon 'a *thesis* concerning the obligation of the wise man to govern is juxtaposed with a *thesis* on providence' (2.123–8 Spengel). Elsewhere Quintilian explains that, if an orator wishes to include *diuina testimonia* in his speech, he has two ways of proceeding, a general and a specific (5.7.35–6 'generalem alterum, in quo inter Stoicos et Epicuri sectam secutos pugna perpetua est regaturne prouidentia mundus, specialem alterum circa partis diuinationis, ut quaeque in quaestionem cadet'); in the latter case, the way of supporting or discrediting (say) oracles will be different from the way one deals with astrologers ('mathematicorum fides'). Hence, just as astrology gives rise inevitably to reflections on fate and chance, so such reflections in their turn may invite questions about how the state is governed. These issues are directly relevant to a *princeps* who believed in astrology and kept a leading practitioner by his side for more than thirty years.

It is true that this intellectual background is at best suggestive; T. cannot be said to make explicit connections between his discussion here and the surrounding narrative of Tiberius' reign. On the other hand he does seem to disclose valuable evidence of his own position on these matters. Although he has recently been found 'studiously failing to endorse any particular interpretative standpoint' (J. P. Davies, *Rome's religious history. Livy, Tacitus and Ammianus on their gods* (2004) 174), analysis of 22.3–4 strongly indicates that T. identified with the deterministic view which he ascribes to 'the majority of mankind' (see nn. below). This in itself would not be surprising and certainly seems more plausible than that he was an early adherent of Neoplatonism.[69]

[68] In Vol. v of his Loeb edition (2001).

[69] The latter is the view advanced at great length by Theiler: see the brief comments of Martin on 22.2, although the range of texts quoted by Theiler is extremely valuable (see also A. A. Long and D. N. Sedley, *The Hellenistic philosophers* (1987), 2 vols.). For a clear recent account of T.'s discussion see M. T. Griffin, *CCT* 168–72.

20.2 Non omiserim praesagium Tiberii de Seruio Galba, tum consule An aphorism about one future emperor, Caligula (above), leads almost apologetically into an aphorism about another, Galba.

T. is not necessarily saying that Tib.'s prediction about Galba belongs to the year 33 (which is a possible interpretation of these words, and formerly espoused by Syme, *Tac.* 525) but, as *tum consule* perhaps suggests, that he relates it now because Galba was consul in the current year: so e.g. K. Scott, 'Ein Ausspruch des Tiberius an Galba', *Hermes* 67 (1932) 472, Townend (1960) 114, Ginsburg 75. Dio (57.19.4) associates the prediction with Galba's wedding in 20, a scenario with which Syme came to agree, though he placed the wedding in 22 (*RP* 4.231); Suetonius places the prediction earlier still, since in his version it was uttered not by Tib. but by Augustus (*Galba* 4.1); Josephus, the only other author in whom the prediction appears, merely alludes to it in passing without assigning it to any specific date (*AJ* 18.6.9). Evidently the prediction was one of those 'floating' anecdotes so common in ancient historiographical texts (for another ex. see *Agr.* 28.1n.). Material of a digressive, tangential or questionable nature would often be introduced by an apologetic form of words: for *non omiserim*, again at 4.10.1, cf. Suet. *Aug.* 76.1 'nam ne haec quidem omiserim'.

diuersis sermonibus pertemptatum Probing conversations were evidently a Tiberian speciality (Suet. *Tib.* 70.3 'grammaticos . . . quaestionibus experiebatur'; cf. 56) and will play a major role in the following story of Thrasyllus (21.2). For the verb, not esp. common but 3× in *H.* 1–2, cf. Stat. *Theb.* 3.381 'uariis pertemptat pectora dictis', Gell. 18.13 *praef.*

'Et tu, Galba, quandoque degustabis imperium' From the versions given in Suetonius (*Galba* 4.1 καὶ σὺ, τέκνον, τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡμῶν παρατρώξῃ) and Dio (57.19.4 καὶ σύ ποτε τῆς ἡγεμονίας γεύσῃ) it may be inferred that the *princeps* was adapting a proverbial line of Greek verse which in its original form may have read something like καὶ σὺ, τέκνον, ποτε τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡμῶν παρα τρώξῃ (see P. Arnaud, '"Toi aussi, mon fils, tu mangeras ta part de notre pouvoir" – Brutus le Tyran?', *Latomus* 57 (1998) 61–71). The metaphor, which in Greek occurs at least as early as Hdt. 4.147 (and cf. Pausan. 4.35.6, Plut. *Galba* 13.4), seems unparalleled in Latin but serves as preparation for the themes of eating, tasting and starvation which begin when the main narrative resumes at 23.1 ('egestate cibi'). The metaphor is appropriate to Galba, since he was evidently a notorious glutton (Suet. *Galba* 22); and, since his very name could be thought to denote fatness (Maltby 252), the sardonic *princeps* has aptly substituted the vocative 'Galba' for the putative τέκνον. Moreover, since the vocative is preceded by the words '*et* tu', 'you *too*', it follows that Tib. is seeing his own hold on power in terms of taste; but his withdrawal to Capri suggests that it was not a taste which he relished. His remark to Galba is one of

commiseration, not congratulation, and his choice of proverbial expression recalls the well known reply of Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, to the philosopher Damocles, over whose head the tyrant had poised a sword: '"uisne igitur", inquit, "o Damocle, quoniam te haec uita delectat, ipse eam degustare et fortunam experiri meam?"' (Cic. *TD* 5.61).

seram ac breuem potentiam significans *significatio* (i.e. meaning more than one says) could be accomplished by various methods such as ambiguity or analogy and was employed for reasons of fear, respect or playfulness (e.g. *Rhet. Herenn.* 4.67, Quint. 9.2.66): see e.g. Lausberg 142–3 §299, 262–3 §578, 407–9 §§905–6. Galba succeeded Nero on 9 June 68 at the age of 69 and was murdered seven months later, on 15 January 69: the lateness of his power is signified by *quandoque*, its brevity by *degustabis* ('you will have a little taste of': *OLD* 1).

Chaldaeorum artis The Chaldaeans were an Assyrian people, hard to distinguish from the Babylonians (cf. Lucr. 5.727), but their name had long since become synonymous with astrology: hence Cicero's careful wording at the start of the *De Diuinatione* (1.2 'qua in natione [sc. Assyriorum] Chaldaei, non ex artis sed ex gentis uocabulo nominati, diuturna obseruatione siderum scientiam putantur effecisse, ut praedici posset quid cuique euenturum et quo quisque fato natus esset' (and Pease ad loc.)). See further 2.27.2n.; Cramer 92–108, Barton, R. Beck, *A brief history of ancient astrology* (2007), P. Ripat, 'Expelling misconceptions: astrologers at Rome', *CP* 106 (2011) 115–54.

cuius apiscendae otium apud Rhodum, magistrum Thrasullum habuit This clause – exhibiting chiasmus, *uariatio* and syllepsis – alludes to Tib.'s self-imposed retirement on Rhodes in 6 BC–AD 2. Although *otium* is followed by a gerund elsewhere (cf. Ter. *Ad.* 419, Varro, *Men.* 338, Cic. *Off.* 2.4, Gell. 5.1.2, 13.11.5), a gerundive is impossible to parallel: this may suggest that *cuius apiscendae* is simply a stand-alone gen. gerundive of purpose, a construction of which T. is fond (1.3.6n.). On the other hand, *magister* (common with a gerund) is paralleled at Cic. *Har. Resp.* 18 'habeo auctores ac magistros religionum colendarum maiores nostros', a construction which T. is arguably imitating and developing here; see also *Balb.* 27 'iste magister mutandae ciuitatis', Sen. *Vit. Beat.* 17.2 'scindendi obsonii magister'. For the archaising *apiscendae* see 3.31.2n.

For Thrasyllus see *RE* = Thrasyllos *RE* 6A.581–4 = Thrasyllos 7 (Gundel); Rüpke 622 no. 1241; H. Tarrant, *Thrasyllan Platonism* (1993) 4–11; also next n. and 45.3n.

peritiam eius hoc modo expertus Suetonius' version of the Thrasyllus story, while having some of the same vocabulary and motifs, is overall quite different (*Tib.* 14.4); Dio's version (55.11.1–3) is different again: for discussion

see e.g. Krappe, Oliver 142–7. Cramer simply dismisses T.'s story as 'fable' (94), Krappe regards it as 'melodramatic claptrap' (361) and traces its origin to pseudo-Callisthenes and the Alexander-romance. Champlin (2008: 412–14) argues in favour of a combination of folk-tale motifs.

Remarkably, T.'s *figura etymologica* (Isid. 10.82 'expertus: multum peritus') seems not to be found elsewhere.

21.1 Quotiens super ta<cito> negotio consultaret 'On his frequent consultations about a secret matter.' Pichena's *tali* is almost universally accepted but is quite out of place: since the story of Thrasyllus is set almost forty years in the past, it is counter-intuitive to introduce it by comparing it to an event which at the time had not yet happened. Kiessling suggested *fatali* without giving any reason for his preference, but, since *consultaret* is a technical term for astrological consultations and the like (*OLD* 3b), the adj. is perhaps mildly pleonastic. On the other hand, *tacito* (*OLD* 7b), an adj. which T. uses elsewhere four times and only in this sense (G–G 1615b), is open to neither of these objections and is picked up by *arcani* below.

T. likes frequentative verbs (Malloch on 11.18.1), but here, since *quotiens* need not of itself imply frequency (15.2n. *quotiens*), the form is required to indicate that the *princeps* consulted often (Long 22); and for the subjunc. of repeated action see e.g. 4.31.2; K–S 2.206–7. The notion of repetition is important both in itself and for the subsequent story. As Oliver explains (136–7 n. 15), T. is referring to catarchic astrology, which essentially held that, 'while the stars at nativity portended a man's destiny, the fulfillment of the portent depended on the man's proper response to stellar influences in every decision he made in the course of his life'. Hence, just as 'the constant motion of the heavens makes not only days but hours and even minutes important in determining stellar influences' at birth, so too 'on those calculations depends the significance of equally precise observations at the inception of every undertaking'. See further below, 2n. (*interrogatur*). For the archaising *super* see 3.17.3n.

edita domus parte ac liberti unius conscientia utebatur Another slightly sylleptic sentence. The wing of the house required elevation for the purposes of seclusion, inaccessibility and perhaps unimpeded observation of the sky. Stargazers were proverbial for always looking upwards (see Pease on Cic. *Div.* 2.30), and Chaldaeans seem to have been notorious for their occupation of elevated positions (Sext. Emp. *Math.* 5.27–8, Hippol. *Haer.* 4.4). Height is of course also required by the logic of the story (Champlin (2008) 412–13).

per auia ac derupta (nam saxis domus imminet) Both *auia ac derupta* (again at 4.45.1 of Spain) and *domus imminet* (again at 3.9.3 and *H.* 3.70.3 of houses overlooking the Roman forum) are exclusively Tacitean expressions;

despite their different applications, they here make Rhodes appear like a prefiguration of Capri (cf. Suet. *Tib*. 60 'per aspera et deuia').

regredientem . . . ne index arcani existeret Since it was in the interests of both parties to keep open the possibility of further consultations in the future, it was taken for granted that a responsible and honest astrologer would not reveal the matters on which the *princeps* had consulted him; but problems arose with those who were neither responsible nor honest. If it seemed either that a practitioner would later boast about his imperial consultation (*uanitatis*) or that his answers during the consultation were based on deception (*fraudum*), from which a more general unreliability could be inferred, he was not permitted to return alive to the outside world. Yet, while an astrologer might easily betray his *uanitas* during the course of a consultation, it was far more difficult to know whether a seemingly genuine astrologer was in fact cheating: hence there was a need to test his predictive ability, as happened in the case of Thrasyllus (2 below).

Naturally we cannot know how many other astrologers were tested or in what ways, but Oliver (138) is 'startled' by the tenses of *si . . . incesserat* and *praecipitabat*: since these represent a past general condition ('whenever there had been . . . '), 'we have to understand that what is being described is . . . Tiberius's habitual behavior toward several or many astrologers'. Like Krappe and Cramer before him, he 'simply cannot believe that Tiberius indulged in a "wholesale slaughter" of the astrologers at Rhodes'. Raising the question of textual error only to dismiss it, Oliver concludes that the 'preposterous statement is a blunder', arising 'more probably from the author's uncritical acceptance of what he found in his source'. Yet such a conclusion does not seem characteristic of T. The fact is that the objection to repeated murders ('any man intelligent enough to work the astrological business would not have blithely accepted an invitation to become another corpse on the rocks or in the sea at the base of the cliff') takes no account of the reality of the situation: when summoned to attend on a powerful member of the imperial family, the astrologers were given no choice, and, even if each knew of the fate of his predecessors, there was always the hope that he would be the one lucky enough to escape – as Thrasyllus did.

For *index arcani* cf. Liv. 39.13.1.

21.2 Igitur Thrasullus . . . ultimum discrimen instare Thrasyllus' story is brilliantly told. In the first of the two sentences, the three elements of the main clause (*inductus*, *postquam . . . patefaciens*, *interrogatur*) are balanced by the three asyndetic and partly alliterative indirect questions (*an . . . quem . . . qualem*). The next sentence is also arranged as a triad (*primo . . . dein . . . postremo*), the first two verbs being chiastic historic infinitives,

the last an historic present. *coniunctio* (15.3n. *deuiis*) is used to express each prediction (*imperium . . . futura*, *ambiguum . . . ultimum*), as well as the expert's calculations (*positus . . . spatia*).

postquam percunctantem commouerat The pluperf. tense after *postquam* is a mannerism of the historians (*NLS* §217 (2) (d)). *commouerat* = 'had impressed' (*OLD* 9b); *percunctantem* is varied by *interrogatur* below.

sollerter exactly describes a successful response by a nervous practitioner 'cuius artem experiri Tiberius statuisset': cf. Isid. 10.243 'sollers: quod sit sollicitus in arte et utilis' (Maltby 573). Tib. was born on 16 November 42 BC (EJ p. 54; Suet. *Tib.* 5), but his birth sign is unclear: 'Perhaps both Scorpio and Libra played their roles in his horoscope' (Barton 45).

interrogatur . . . haberet A professional astrologer might be expected to know his own *genitalis hora*; but the nature of catarchic astrology (see above, 1n. *Quotiens*) required that one's calculations be constantly updated to take into account one's chronometrical and even geographical circumstances at the relevant moment (*tum*): this explains the *princeps*' questioning 'whether Thrasyllus had computed the stellar forces acting on his own destiny *at the time of their interview*' (Oliver 137 n. 15: emphasis added). *quem* is not so much explained by *qualem* (so e.g. Furneaux, Koestermann) but is equivalent to *qualem* (for this meaning see *OLD qui*[1] 2; Cairns 80–1): 'the nature of the year and the type of day he was then having'. Contrast Regulus at Plin. *Ep.* 2.20.3 'quo die, qua hora nata esset interrogauit'.

spatia dimensus Unlike *positus* (above), *spatia* seems technical (e.g. Vitr. 9.1.10, 9.8.10 'siderum spatia'); for *dimetior* likewise cf. Cic. *Senec.* 49 and Powell ad loc.

trepidus admirationis et metus Reference works (e.g. *OLD* 1a, K–S 1.445–6) seem not to distinguish between an objective gen. with *trepidus* and a gen. of reference. Most exs. fall into the former category (see Tarrant on Virg. *Aen.* 12.589); it is much harder to find parallels for the latter, as here in T., whose ex. was used by Hildebrand (edn 1842) to defend *trepidi religionis* at Apul. *Met.* 4.11.3 (where more recent edd. read *trepidi regionis . . . tumultu*). For *admiratio et metus* cf. Quint. 11.3.83, Just. 4.1.17.

discrimen instare Cf. Curt. 7.7.26 and Juv. 6.520 (see next n. but one); plur. at Luc. 5.723–4.

21.3 praescium periculorum et incolumem It is tempting to think this another example of *coniunctio* (see above, 2n. *Igitur*), but *incolumis* seems not to be found with a gen. in classical Latin (only Avell. p. 89.23 is quoted in *TLL* 7.1.981.80–1).

quaeque dixerat oracli uice accipiens The same idea at Juv. 6.553–5 (see last n. but one): 'Chaldaeis sed maior erit fiducia: quidquid | dixerit astrologus, credent a fonte relatum | Hammonis' (*oracula* follows).

***inter intimos* amicorum tenet** 'Keeping a personal astrological adviser was . . . a sign of individualised power' (T. Barton, 'Augustus and Capricorn', *JRS* 85 (1995) 48), and Thrasyllus was given Roman citizenship, becoming Tiberius Claudius Thrasyllus. Many years later Juvenal parodies the 'herd of Chaldaei' on Capri (10.94).

22.1 Sed mihi haec ac talia audienti in incerto iudicium est The contrast is between the certainty of Tib. (21.3 'oracli uice accipiens') and the uncertainty of T. himself. The combination of *mihi* + present participle is a recognised opening formula and an especial favourite of Cicero: Landgraf on *Rosc. Am.* 67 quotes several exs. (*Div.* 2.1 'Quaerenti mihi multumque et diu cogitanti', *De Or.* 1.1 'Cogitanti mihi saepe numero et memoria uetera repetenti' (cf. 1.6, 3.1), *Amic.* 26 'Saepissime igitur mihi de amicitia cogitanti', Sen. *Tranq. An.* 1.1) but ironically not the Sallustian ex. to which T. alludes here (*C.* 53.2 '*Sed mihi* multa legenti, multa *audienti*'); the passage will end with further allusions to Sallust (below, 4n. *ne nunc*). *haec ac talia* is found only in T. (elsewhere at *H.* 1.16.4, 3.3.1) apart from Suet. *Claud.* 10.1 (and cf. Apul. *Met.* 9.34.4); the corresponding *haec atque talia* is also exclusive to T. (11×, all in *Annals*) apart from Plin. *NH* 7.32 (see also Adams (1973b) 142 n. 68). *in incerto* is more favoured by T. (14×) than by any other author.

fatone . . . an forte uoluantur The co-ordination of *fatum* and *necessitas*, though naturally found in a writer such as Seneca (e.g. *NQ* 2.36, *Ep.* 77.12), is esp. associated with Cicero's *De Fato* (cf. 21, 28, 40 [= *SVF* 2.953, 974]): T. appears to be posing the familiar alternatives between fatalism (Stoic) and chance (Epicurean) in terms of that dialogue, where variations on the question are discussed (see further below), although it is obviously possible that he is influenced – either as well or instead – by a more immediate intermediary such as Seneca (see Zimmermann 15–18); for Seneca's relationship with the *De Fato* see e.g. G. D. Williams, *The cosmic viewpoint: a study of Seneca's* Natural Questions (2012) 319ff. For *immutabili* (5× in the *De Fato*) cf. Quint. 2.13.1 'inmutabili necessitate' (but not of fate); *uoluere* is used of sending things round – or, in the passive, of their coming round – in due course (*OLD* 2); Theiler (43 n. 3) compares Diodorus on πρόνοια (1.1.3 τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσεις . . . κυκλεῖ συνεχῶς ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα); cf. also Sen. *NQ* 2.35.2 'ordinem fati rerum aeterna series rotat'. For *forte* cf. (a passage which shares vocabulary with T.'s) Curt. 5.11.10 'eludant fidem licet quibus *forte* <et> temere humana negotia *uolui* agique persuasum est, nec serie *nexu*que *causarum* latentium et multo ante destinatarum suum quemque *ordinem inmutabili* lege percurrere' (the text is uncertain). *mortales* instead of *homines* (for which see Oakley on Liv.

6.16.4) is an idiom of which T. is fond, esp. in the genitive case (as again at 3 below); often the context is one where, as here, mortality is relevant (e.g. 4.62.2, 4.68.3): remarkably, perhaps, *res mortalium* is unique to this passage.

sapientissimos ueterum . . . reperies The 'best ancient philosophers' and their followers are divided into Epicureans and Stoics (*multis* . . . [2] *contra alii* . . .), and both groups are later contrasted with 'the majority of mankind' (3 *ceterum plurimis mortalium* . . .); *ueteres philosophi* and equivalent expressions are very frequent in Cicero's philosophical works: T. of course avoids the noun (only 13.42.4 in *A.*) and uses *sapiens* instead (G–G 1432a). Since two groups are here in question, and since *secta* is a technical philosophical term (*OLD* 2a), it is surprising that editors do not adopt Wurm's *sectas*; for *aemulantur* ('pursue with the zeal of a disciple': *OLD* 2b) cf. *H.* 3.81.1 'placita Stoicorum aemulatus'. For the fut. *reperies*, 'you will find ~ to be of divergent views' (*OLD reperio* 5), cf. 4.33.4, *D.* 12.6 (8.4 *inuenies*); for this nuance of *diuersus* see 2.73.4; *OLD* 5d.

insitam opinionem is a Ciceronian expr. (*Clu.* 4, *Or.* 97, *TD* 4.26–7), used also by Sen. *Ep.* 117.6 and Quint. 4.2.80; here it introduces, in reverse order (15.1n. *L. Cassium*), the Epicurean position which was headlined above and of which the various elements will be counterpointed when T. turns to the Stoic position at 2 below. For the slide into the acc. + inf. see 3.47.2n.; *opinionem* is itself varied by *putant* below (2).

initia nostri The replacement of a possessive adj. by a gen. pronoun becomes increasingly common from the Augustan age and is esp. common in T., as again at 2.54.2 'nostri origine': see K–S 1.598–9.

non *d*enique homines *d*is curae After the polar terms *initia* and *finem*, *denique* = 'in a word' (*OLD* 3). It was a basic tenet of Epicureanism that the gods live without care for mankind (e.g. Cic. *ND* 3.3 'deos nihil agere, nihil curare', Lucr. 5.82 'deos securum agere aeuom'; Pease on Virg. *Aen.* 4.379). The double dative *dis curae* is quite common (e.g. Sall. *J.* 75.9 'rati sese dis inmortalibus curae esse', Stat. *Silv.* 4.6.89–90 'si mores humanaque pectora curae | nosse deis', and esp. Sen. *NQ* 1.1.4 'uidebimus an diis humana curae sint') but lends itself to Tacitean aphorism: 1.73.3 'deorum iniurias dis curae' ('spoken' by Tib.), *H.* 1.3.2 'non esse curae deis securitatem nostram, esse ultionem'.

tristia in bonos, laeta apud deteriores A standard Epicurean argument against the involvement of the gods in human affairs (e.g. Sen. *Prov.* 1.1 'Quaesisti a me, Lucili, quid ita, si prouidentia mundus ageretur, multa bonis uiris mala acciderent'; Pease on Cic. *ND* 3.79). The *uariatio* of prepositions (for which see Sörbom 46–9) suggests that misery targets the good (as 4.52.1 'in Agrippinam'), while happiness is at the disposal of the *deteriores* (*OLD apud* 9); the further *uariatio* of positive ~ comparative (see Sörbom 98) suggests that

mere goodness qualifies one for misery, whereas the degree of wickedness is no barrier to happiness.

22.2 *Con*tra alii fatum quidem *con*gruere rebus putant This expression of the (broadly) Stoic position corresponds to *non denique homines dis curae* just above. We might have expected T. to say that 'events concur with fate', but he 'seeks to emphasise *fatum* as subject of the clause' (Martin). Nipperdey's *ingruere* does not seem an improvement.

e uagis stellis The planets (Pease on Cic. *ND* 1.34); *e* = 'in accordance with' (*OLD ex* 20a).

uerum apud principia et nexus naturalium causarum *principia* means 'our beginnings' (~ *initia nostri* above), while *nexus naturalium causarum* corresponds implicitly to *finem* (our 'end' is subsumed by the nexus of natural causes); *apud* here = 'under the control of' (*OLD* 10). *naturales causae* (again at *H.* 1.86.3), though found occasionally elsewhere (e.g. Sen. *Ep.* 41.3), is above all a Ciceronian expr. found esp. in the *De Fato* (6×), usually in the order *causae naturales* (9, 11, 14 [= *SVF* 2.954], 32; cf. *Div.* 2.143); for the Stoic idea of a nexus of causes see esp. Cic. *Div.* 1.125 (= *SVF* 2.921) 'fatum autem id appello quod Graeci εἱμαρμένην, id est ordinem seriemque causarum, cum causae causa nexa rem ex se gignat'; also e.g. Sen. *Cons. Helv.* 8.3 'immutabilis causarum inter se cohaerentium series', Aetius, *Plac.* 1.28.4 (= *SVF* 2.917), Alexander of Aphrodisias, *Fat.* 192.1–8, Serv. *Aen.* 3.376 = Cic. *Fat.* fr. 2 Ax (= *SVF* 2.919); for the term *nexus* itself cf. Curt. 5.11.10 (quoted above); S. S. Meyer, 'Chain of causes: what is Stoic fate?', in R. Salles (ed.), *God and cosmos in Stoicism* (2009) 71–90. Since astrology and Stoicism were both deterministic, it was easy for the former to be assimilated into the latter: indeed Panaetius was said to be the only Stoic to reject astrology (Cic. *Div.* 2.88; cf. 2.97). It is therefore striking that T. here goes out of his way to distinguish between the two creeds (*sed non . . . uerum . . .*); but this distinction prepares the way for his transition to a third group – those who believe in astrology – at 3 below.

ac tamen electionem uitae nobis relinquunt, quam ubi elegeris, certum imminentium ordinem *ac tamen . . . relinquunt* modifies, and constitutes an addition to, the points (just listed) at which the Stoic view is antithetical to the Epicurean; but *quam . . . ordinem* repeats the notion of inevitability with which the previous sentence was concerned (*quam* = 'but which'). The relationship between fate and free will was a major issue in ancient philosophy and constitutes a principal theme in Cicero's *De Fato* (see the commentary (2008) of M. Schallenberg); note esp. Gell. 7.2, reporting on the views of Chrysippus. *relinquo* in the sense of 'concede' or 'allow' is not easy to parallel (cf. *OLD* 9a, 11a), but note esp. Liv. 38.8.5 'cuius rei electionem a fortuna relictam?'. *certum . . . ordinem* is acc. either because it is a direct object

of *relinquunt* and parallel to *electionem* or because *relinquunt* implies a verb of saying (e.g. *affirmant*) either with or without *esse*; whichever view we prefer, *neque mala . . . inconsulte utantur* below is all in *oratio obliqua*.

The sentence as a whole is taken to mean: 'and yet they leave us a choice of life, but, when you have chosen it, a fixed series of inevitabilities'. Thus interpreted the sentence is open to a major objection. 'The freedom for an individual to make a once-for-all choice of the life he will pursue', says Martin, 'has no place in orthodox Stoic philosophy.' Scholars attempt to explain T.'s meaning by referring to Plato's Myth of Er (*Rep.* 617e),[70] but, as Martin again says, this is 'perhaps something of a red herring, for Plato describes the prenatal choice by souls involved in an endless cycle of reincarnation'.

The notion of a 'once-for-all choice' suggests that *elegeris* is being understood as a future perfect indicative. If it were a perfect subjunctive, however, it would denote a generalising clause; and, if we further assume that *uitae* here has the sense of 'a person's life together with its acts, circumstances etc., the course of a life' (*OLD* 6), the meaning of the sentence is changed to: 'and yet they leave us choice in our life's course, but, whenever you choose it, a fixed series of inevitabilities'. In other words, T. is not referring to 'a once-for-all choice of life' but to the various choices with which individuals are confronted at different moments in their lives.

An analogous meaning can be arrived at by a different route, which, since this is so difficult a sentence, may be worth a brief adumbration. Kiessling commented that 'Pronomen *quam* ad solam vocem *vitam* est referendum', a comment so worded as to suggest that *electionem* might possibly be an alternative antecedent of *quam* (for a similar ambiguity see *cuius* at 3 below); and Ernesti's proposal to emend *elegeris* to either *feceris* or *decreris* implies that in his opinion *electionem* actually was the antecedent. If *electionem* is indeed the antecedent of *quam*, and if *uitae* is a subjective or possessive genitive (like *fati* at Sen. *Prov.* 3.11 'electione fati data', 'if Fate should give them the choice'), the meaning of the sentence is as follows: 'and yet they leave us the choosing-faculty of life, but, whenever you choose it, a fixed series of inevitabilities'. On this interpretation we are to imagine that an individual finds himself in a position where he can alter the course of his life in one direction (A) or another (B) or, choosing neither of these alternatives, do nothing. Choosing A or B is to activate the choosing-faculty which T. designates by *electio*; but choosing to activate the choosing-faculty is itself a choice, which explains why T. writes *quam ubi elegeris*. (Thus *quam* [sc. *electionem*] . . . *elegeris* is not a cognate acc. like *pugnam pugnare* but a genuine direct object.) If the individual chooses A or B,

[70] The reference is regarded as 'sans doute' by J.-M. André, 'Tacite et la philosophie', *ANRW* 2.33.4 (1991) 3148.

his choice will be followed by a *certus imminentium ordo* which will be different from the *certus ordo* which already exists and which will continue in existence if he chooses to do nothing.

On either interpretation T. is referring to the Stoic belief that our lives have an element of self-determination about them and that we have the freedom to change our dispositions, and hence our tendency to behave in certain ways, even though we are doing so within a universe where the overall constitution of our minds and the outcomes of our actions are both predetermined. For discussion see S. Bobzien, *Determinism and freedom in Stoic philosophy* (1998) 258–71, 290–301.

certus ordo is a regular phrase but esp. frequent in Lucr. (e.g. 2.252 and Fowler ad loc.) and Manil. (e.g. 1.59–60): see also Sen. *NQ* 2.38.3 'dicam quemadmodum manente fato aliquid sit in hominis arbitrio; nunc uero id de quo agitur explicui, quomodo, si fati certus est ordo, expiationes . . . pericula auertant'.

neque mala uel bona quae uulgus putet . . . These words, corresponding to the final statement of the Epicurean position at 1 above ('ideo . . . apud deteriores esse'), are a commonplace of Stoic philosophy (e.g. Sen. *Prov.* 2.1 '"quare multa bonis uiris aduersa eueniunt?" nihil accidere bono uiro mali potest', 5.1 'quae uulgus appetit, quae reformidat, nec bona esse nec mala'; other exs. in Zimmermann 17); but see also next n.

multos . . . beatos, at plerosque . . . miserrimos Orelli compares Hdt. 1.32.5 πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ζάπλουτοι ἀνθρώπων ἀνόλβιοί εἰσι, πολλοὶ δὲ μετρίως ἔχοντες βίου εὐτυχέες, where Asheri refers to Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1178b33 and comments that the notion 'is popular wisdom common to all cultures'.

plerosque, quamquam magnas per opes, miserrimos *per* in T. 'has constantly the force of an instrumental, causal, or modal abl.' (Furneaux p. 61: see Draeger 39 §89, 43 §105), but this is an esp. striking example: it suggests a Tantalus-like image of persons surrounded by riches which only make them wretched; Tantalus himself is used in just such a context at Hor. *S.* 1.1.68–72. For the adj. preceding prep. and noun see 5.1.3n. (*Sanctitate*); for *quamquam* without a finite verb see 6.7.5n. (*nobis*); for the juxtaposition of wealth and misery see Sen. *Ep.* 94.7 'efficias oportet ut sciat pecuniam nec bonum nec malum esse; ostendas illi miserrimos diuites'.

22.3 Ceterum plurimis mortalium non eximitur quin . . . uentura destinentur After the summaries of the Epicurean and Stoic views, *ceterum* introduces a third group, 'the majority of mankind'; but both expression and construction are unusual and unclear. Some (perhaps most) scholars believe that the *quin*-clause is explained by the fact that the main sentence is equivalent to 'most mortals do not doubt that . . .' (see K–S 2.264): thus 'With

most men, however, the faith is ineradicable that . . . ' (Jackson), 'the thought that . . . ' (Woodman), 'the notion that . . . ' (Yardley). The difficulty with this interpretation is that there is in the Latin no word for 'faith' or 'thought' or 'notion': we have to assume that this is one of those cases where such a word is supplied, as 4.57.1 'plerumque permoueor num . . . uerius sit', which means 'I am often moved to ask whether . . . '. Now it is certainly true that indirect speech follows below without any expressed introductory word ('sed quaedam . . . cadere'); but our passage seems more difficult than others which are quoted (*quin* is not as clear as *num* at 4.57.1).[71]

The alternative is to regard *quin . . . destinentur* as a noun-clause which is the subject of *eximitur*, on the analogy of such impersonal expressions as *non multum abest*; but, whereas Ritter and Koestermann (who advocate this interpretation) think that one is somehow still to understand *persuasio* or *opinio*, this is not the case. There is now no room (as it were) for the notion of belief; just as *quod substituit . . . non abest quin iucundius lepidiusque sit* (Gell. 9.9.5) means 'his substitution is not far from being more delightful and charming' (not 'from being *thought* more delightful and charming'), so our sentence will mean: 'That the future is marked out from the moment of each person's birth, however, is not dismissed in the eyes of the majority of mankind.'[72] On this interpretation, therefore, T. is stating astrological determinism as a fact and that most people agree with it (it is this latter element which leads into the indirect discourse of *sed quaedam . . . cadere* below), and it certainly seems to be the case that the popular view is supported by one of the 'clear proofs' that T. himself offers below (*clara documenta . . . quippe . . . *).[73] This may also be the view that he takes in the striking but difficult passage in Book 4 (20.3 'unde dubitare cogor, fato et sorte nascendi, ut cetera, ita principum inclinatio in hos, offensio in illos, an sit aliquid in nostris consiliis liceatque inter abruptam contumaciam et deforme obsequium pergere iter ambitione ac periculis uacuum'), where *ut cetera* strongly suggests that predestination operates in most areas of life.

[71] Draeger–Heraeus, however, compare Plaut. *Mil.* 332 'me homo nemo deterrebit quin ea sit in his aedibus' (where scholars are unanimous that the meaning is *quin credam eam esse*) and point to the use of *adducor* = *adducor ut existimem* (for which see Pease on Cic. *Div.* 1.35, Madvig on *Off.* 1.14; A. E. Housman, *Classical Papers* (1972) 1153–4).

[72] Whether *plurimis* is to be regarded as a dat. of reference (as rendered) or agent is unclear.

[73] This is the opposite conclusion from that of A. Borgo, who argues that T.'s Latin is a condensed way of saying 'the majority of mortals cannot be kept from (falsely) believing that . . . ' ('Due esempi di sintassi innovativa in Tacito', *Boll. Stud. Lat.* 24 (1994) 533–5).

If the *quin*-clause has been correctly interpreted and T. is stating astrological determinism as a fact, it follows from his earlier and crucial distinction between astrology and Stoicism (above, 2n. *uerum*) that the uncertainty between Stoicism and Epicureanism which he expressed at the beginning (22.1) remains unresolved. His reflections on the nature of these two important creeds have acted as a kind of foil for a re-statement of the view of astrology which was implicit in his narrative of Thrasyllus: the discussion has, as it were, come full circle. It is, however, perhaps worth adding that, although there was a natural affinity between Stoicism and astrology (as already stated), astrology was not necessarily precluded by the tenets of Epicureanism. Some scholars argue strongly, for example, that Maecenas was Epicurean (cf. J.-M. André, *Mécène: essai de biographie spirituelle* (1967) 15–61); yet it is also generally accepted from Horace's words in *Odes* 2.17 that Maecenas had some belief in astrology. Such eclecticism, which must have been common, gives real meaning to the kind of enquiry on which T. has embarked in this passage.[74]

For *mortalium*, as Plin. *NH* 2.206 'cum plurimis mortalium' (of a catastrophic flood), see 1n. (*fatone*); for *uentura* = 'the future' see *OLD uenio* 16b.

primo cuiusque ortu 'at [*or* from] the moment of each person's birth'. The timing was crucial if one was to have one's horoscope cast. See also Zimmermann 17.

sed quaedam . . . cadere fallaciis ignara dicentium Here the acc. + infin., which continues to *tulerit* below, makes it clear that one has to understand a verb of saying or thinking: 'but the majority of mankind thinks that some things fall out differently from their prediction . . . '. This passage is rightly compared by commentators with 4.58.2–3 (AD 26, when Tib. first withdrew from Rome): 'ferebant periti caelestium iis motibus siderum excessisse Roma Tiberium ut reditus illi negaretur. unde exitii causa multis fuit properum finem uitae coniectantibus uulgantibusque: neque enim tam incredibilem casum prouidebant ut undecim per annos libens patria careret. mox patuit breue confinium artis et falsi ueraque quam obscuris tegerentur.[75] nam in urbem non regressurum haud forte dictum; ceterorum nescii egere, cum propinquo rure aut litore et saepe moenia urbis adsidens extremam senectam compleuerit'. These typically Tacitean sentences require careful analysis. Astrologers correctly predicted that the *princeps* would not return to the city, as a result of which many (*multis*) conjectured publicly that he was soon going to die. It is not clear whether the 'many' are astrologers or (as perhaps seems more likely) those who based their own misguided predictions on the astrologers' pronouncements. At any rate, it became clear in due course how

[74] It must be acknowledged that not everyone accepts Maecenas as an Epicurean: see N–R on Hor. *C.* 3.29 (intro. n., pp. 346–7).

[75] An allusion to Virg. *Aen.* 6.100 'obscuris uera inuoluens' (of the Sibyl!).

narrow was the line which divided true skill from false: that Tib. would never return to the city was not said by chance (*forte*) but was an example of truly skilful prediction; however, since the astrologers did not predict the numerous occasions on which the *princeps* would approach very close indeed to the city, they were very nearly wrong. Syme concluded from this passage that T. is 'suitably cautious and incomplete in his verdict' (*Tac.* 524), and it is difficult to disagree; here at 6.22.3 it is hard to divine exactly what the majority is saying: does *fallaciis* imply deliberate deception on the part of the astrologers or does it imply only that those who consulted them were deceived (like the 'many' at 4.58.2)? Whatever the case, T.'s remarks in the *Annals* have a different emphasis from what he says about astrologers in the *Histories* (1.22.1 'genus hominum potentibus infidum, sperantibus fallax, quod in ciuitate nostra et uetabitur semper et retinebitur'); see also 2.27.2n.

cadere = 'to fall/turn out' (*OLD* 17). *dicere* is sometimes used specifically of prophecy, as here and 11.4.2 (see Malloch's n.; *OLD* 7a); for the repetition *dicta sint . . . dicentium* see 6.17.2n. (*nec*). For *ignarus* = 'unknown' see *OLD* 3.

corrumpi fidem artis cuius clara documenta et antiqua aetas et nostra tulerit The antecedent of *cuius* is not clear: word order suggests that it is *artis*, but *fidei documentum* is a regular phrase (1.30.1, Liv. 22.39.12, 28.16.11, 28.39.17, Sen. *Prov.* 3.9); the meaning is very similar in each case. For *fidem artis* cf. Juv. 6.560 (also of astrology). *antiqua aetas* is an odd expr. (only [Quint.] *Decl.* 314.13); for *tulerit* see 6.7.3n. (*Quod*).

22.4 Quippe . . . in tempore memorabitur Whether *quippe* means 'indeed', as at 6.6.2 above (n.), or 'for', as is generally assumed, this sentence in T.'s own voice seems clearly to offer one of the *clara documenta* mentioned in his summary of the popular view. So e.g. Barton 52 and n. 126.

A 'prediction of Nero's rule' (for the participial construction see 3.24.1n.) is mentioned retrospectively at 14.9.3 (AD 59), where, however, reference is made to Chaldaeans in general and not to Thrasyllus' son; Dio mentions the same prophecy (61.2.1, under AD 54) but ascribes it merely to 'a certain astrologer'. Thrasyllus' son was Ti. Claudius Balbillus, Nero's astrologer; whether he is identical with the homonym who was Prefect of Egypt in 54–59 is uncertain (Demougin, *PCR* 447–9 no. 438) but surely likely.

Although T. frequently cross-refers backwards in his text (6.4.1n. *ut rettuli*), cross-references forwards, as here, are relatively rare (1.58.6, 2.4.3, 11.5.3 and Malloch's n.), as are anticipations (32.4n. *regressus*); for *memorare* see also 3.24.3n.

ne nunc incepto longius abierim Prose and verse texts often employ the language of space, time and travel for the purposes of self-description, and this language is esp. evident to mark digressions (for which the terms are

themselves metaphorical, e.g. Quint. 4.3.14 'παρέκβασις est . . . extra ordinem excurrens tractatio'; Lausberg 158 §340; C. Damon, *AHC* 355). Digressive material is frequently concluded by various more or less set formulae (see e.g. *H.* 2.38.2 and H.'s n., Vell. 68.5 and W.'s n.; E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (1957) 98): the present formula is one of only two examples in the *Annals* (the other is 4.33.4) and T. seems to be combining particular allusions to Sall. *J.* 4.9 '*nunc* ad *inceptum* red*eo*' (on which see Berry on Cic. *Sull.* 35) and *C.* 7.7 'ni ea res *longius* nos ab *incepto* traheret'. *longius* in itself can express either time, for which the comparative is esp. idiomatic (*OLD longe* 3a), or distance: see e.g. Cic. *Caecin.* 95 'ne longius abeam', Plin. *Ep.* 4.22.7 'longius abii'. But *in tempore* (above) here suggests the former: T. has already been away too long from his main theme, and he will return to the prediction about Nero at the appropriate time (time too is a Sallustian motif: cf. *J.* 19.2 'alio properare tempus monet'). This indicates that the very unusual perfect tense in the *ne*-clause is not potential (so K–S 1.178) but genuinely past, as Walther saw ('scriptor iam *abierat*; ne tamen longius in hoc abitu commoretur, alibi memorabit cetera'): 'in case I have now been away from my main theme for too long'. For *abeo* see *OLD* 18.

23.1 Isdem consulibus One of them was of course Ser. Sulpicius Galba, so this formulaic phrase (13.1n. *Isdem*) returns us to 20.2 (~ *tum consule*) after the intervening digressions.

Asinii Galli Last heard of in the extant narrative at 4.71.2–3, where he characteristically gets on the wrong side of Tib. (AD 28). Two years later, according to Dio's account of AD 30, he was wined and dined by Tib. and on the very same day led off to house arrest, where for three years he was barely given enough food to keep him alive: τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν τὸ δεινότατον (58.3.3–6, cf. Suet. *Tib.* 61.4). This story, including (one hopes) the details about diet, will presumably have been mentioned in the lost portion of Book 5 (see also next n.). On Gallus see 1.8.3n., 3.11.2n.; Rüpke 547–8 no. 741; O. Devillers, 'Les passages relatifs à Asinius Gallus dans les *Annales* de Tacite', *REL* 87 (2009) 154–65, with further refs.

quem . . . habebatur Gallus' death by starvation both resumes the theme of eating which we left before the digressions on Thrasyllus and fate (*egestate cibi* ~ 20.2 *degustabis*) and ushers in a series of three similar deaths: Drusus (23.2–24.3), Agrippina (25) and Cocceius Nerva (26.1–2). It is ironical that Gallus' death echoes the same terms of doubt and uncertainty, free will and necessity, that framed the preceding digression.

There are three ways of understanding the syntax of the clause. (a) Punctuate as follows: 'quem egestate cibi peremptum haud dubium, sponte uel necessitate incertum, habebatur.' On this presentation, *haud dubium habebatur* is the main verb and *sponte . . . incertum* is parenthetic or 'extra-syntactical'. T. is fond

of the latter idiom (e.g. 14.51.1 'concessitque uita Burrus, incertum ualetudine aut ueneno', *H.* 4.6.1 'ea ultio, incertum inanior an iustior, senatum in studia diduxerat'; 1.11.4n., 5.1.2n. *incertum*, *Agr.* 7.3n.), and it has Sallustian precedent (*H.* 4.53 'suspectusque fuit, incertum uero an per neglegentiam, societatem praedarum cum latronibus composuisse'), but so does *incertum habere* (Sall. *J.* 95.4 'postea quae fecerit incertum habeo pudeat an pigeat magis disserere'). (b) Punctuate as follows: 'quem egestate cibi peremptum haud dubium, sponte uel necessitate incertum habebatur.' On this presentation, *haud dubium* and *incertum* are parallel, and either [i] *habebatur* is to be taken with *haud dubium* as well as *incertum* or [ii] *erat* or *fuit* is to be understood with *haud dubium* (so Woodman, Yardley, Damon). On the whole the parallelism of (b) seems more likely than the parenthesis of (a); and, since *haud/non dubium habere* is a Tacitean mannerism (see 3.67.1n.; also for the acc. + inf.), [i] more likely than [ii]. But it is a difficult decision. *dubium habere* also has Sallustian precedent (*H.* 3.48.8 'an dubium habetis num . . . ?'), but is found elsewhere too (e.g. Plaut. *Capt.* 892 'dubium habebis . . . ?').

As a general rule, and no doubt partly for metrical reasons, *perimo* is greatly preferred to *interimo* by poets, exclusively so in the case of the 'silver' epicists, but it is the other way round with prose-writers, exclusively so in the case of Velleius and Suetonius; T. is one of the few exceptions to follow the poets (6:1), the others being the younger Plin. (6:0), Apul. (18:2) and Amm. (29:11). See the statistical tables in *TLL* 10.1.1473.

For various forms of *sponte* ~ *necessitate* cf. *H.* 3.62.2, Cic. *Part. Or.* 131, Curt. 7.4.38 'magis necessitate quam sponte', Sen. *Ep.* 121.7, Plin. *Ep.* 5.13.10; *sponte . . . peremptus* is at Stat. *Theb.* 10.809. The introduction of a second alternative indir. qu. by *uel* instead of *an* (which is used just below) seems unique (L–H–S 545), but note 14.3.1 'consultans ueneno an ferro uel qua alia uia' and 14.51.1 (quoted above).

Consultusque Caesar an sepeliri sineret, non erubuit permittere The condemned were not allowed to be buried (29.1 'damnati . . . sepultura prohibebantur'), but Gallus' death presented contemporaries with an awkward situation. On the one hand, Gallus had not been charged (let alone condemned): he should therefore be presumed innocent and allowed to be buried. On the other hand, he had been under house arrest for the past three years: this suggested that he was guilty and should not be buried. Tib.'s 'shamelessness' is explained by the credibility gap between these two alternatives: his permitting Gallus to be buried implied an innocence which conflicted with the guilt inferred from the man's house arrest. See further nn. below.

an sepeliri sineret It may be asked what the alternative to burial was. The requisite disgrace did not attach to cremation (see e.g. 16.6.2 'Romanus

mos'). At 16.16.2 T. draws a distinction between the formal burial of an eminent individual and the *promiscua sepultura* of common people (for which see J. Bodel, 'Graveyards and groves', *AJAH* 11 (1986 [1994])): perhaps Tib. was being asked whether he would allow the formal burial to which a man such as Gallus would normally be entitled, or whether he would have to be relegated to the common burial ground. An even more undignified alternative was the clandestine inhumation ordered for the disgraced Drusus and Agrippina (Dio 58.22.5). The most shameful end (see 19.3 above) was to have one's corpse pitched into the Tiber. See V. M. Hope, 'Contempt and respect: the treatment of the corpse in ancient Rome', in Hope and Marshall 116–20. Forbidding burial was typically tyrannical behaviour: see Liv. 1.49.1 and Ogilvie ad loc.; also below, 29.1.

non erubuit Blushing was a sign of shame (cf. e.g. Ter. *Andr.* 878 'color pudoris signum', Cic. *TD* 4.19 'fit ut pudorem rubor . . . consequatur'; Kaster 20–2). Domitian was equally shameless (*Agr.* 42.2 'nec erubuit'), although his naturally ruddy complexion would not in fact reveal a blush (*Agr.* 45.2). Although Tib. permitted Gallus to be buried, the man's name was erased from inscriptions, albeit seemingly restored later on (*ILS* 97, 165, 5923d [= EJ 295]).

ultroque incusare casus qui reum *a*bstulissent *a*ntequam *co*ram *co*nuinceretur There are two ways of interpreting these words. (a) It is generally assumed that both the *qui*-clause and the *antequam*-clause are virtual or. obl., that is, are part of what Tib. said: 'and moreover he did not blush to blame the circumstances which had carried off the guilty party before he could be condemned in the imperial presence'. On this interpretation Tib. is the legalistic figure familiar from elsewhere in the *Annals* (see 6.2.1n. *tamquam*): he expresses his personal conviction that Gallus was guilty and would have been condemned, but, because there had not yet been a trial, he adheres to the letter of the law and allows the man to be buried. Such behaviour easily exposed Tib. to the charge of hypocrisy. (b) It is possible to regard *antequam . . . conuinceretur* as an authorial comment by T. and the (potential) subjunctive as indicating expectation rather than *oratio obliqua*: 'and moreover he did not blush to blame the circumstances which had carried off the defendant – before he could be convicted in the imperial presence!' This interpretation also gives us (by implication) the emperor's thoughts but has the extra twist of conveying them through the cynical voice of the historian; in addition it attributes to Tib. a characteristic ambiguity: in the context *reum* must mean 'defendant' (*OLD* 2a), but the senators may have been left wondering whether the *princeps* was giving them a hint (*OLD* 4 'culprit').

auferre is often used of death (*OLD* 8); *ultro* = 'into the bargain' (*OLD* 3a).

Scilicet . . . defuerat tempus subeundi iudicium The cynicism is provoked by the emperor's suggestion that Gallus had been taken off unexpectedly ('casus qui reum abstulissent'). *subire iudicium* is technical (*TLL* 7.2.611.46–7).

medio triennio 'in the intervening three-year period'.

***consulari* seni, tot *consulari*um parenti** The polyptoton and homoeoteleuton give an epitaphic quality to the statement. Gallus had been consul 40 years earlier, in 8 BC; of his sons, Asinius Pollio had been consul in AD 23 (4.1.1), Asinius Agrippa in AD 25 (4.34.1); a third, Asinius Celer, would be *suffectus* in 38.

23.2 Drusus deinde exstinguitur The son of Germanicus and Agrippina had been in custody since 30. The relevant part of Book 5 is of course missing, but, according to Dio (58.3.8), Sejanus had taken advantage of Drusus' wife, the daughter of M. Lepidus (cos. AD 6), in order to bring false charges against him; and had subsequently induced a 'Cassius' (assumed to be one of the consuls of 30: see 15.1n. *L. Cassium*) to bring further charges, whereupon Drusus was detained 'in ima parte Palatii' (Suet. *Tib.* 54.2). The nature of the charges is unknown: 'presumably the usual ones of contumacious speech and excessive ambition' (Seager 179). On his death his remains were buried secretly (Dio 58.22.5); 'aber fern von Rom in einem Alpendorf errichtete man ihm ein Kenotaphium' (Gardthausen in *RE* 10.434–5 = Iulius 137, referring to *CIL* 6.4953 'dis manibus Drusi Caesaris Germ.'). See also *PIR* 4.176–8 no. 220, *BNP* 4.727 [Drusus II 2]; Rüpke 735 no. 2004.

cum se . . . nonum ad diem detinuisset Drusus was starved of proper food but, by eating the stuffing from his bed, managed to keep himself alive for nine days (an ironic evocation of the *nouendialis cena* which took place nine days after a burial: see 6.5.1 and n. *nouendialem*). Ritter raised three objections to the phrase *mandendo e cubili tomento*. (1) The precision of expression and the vulgar terminology are not in T.'s manner. (2) T.'s habit is to write an abl. gerund + acc. object rather than an abl. gerundive. (3) No one could keep themselves alive for nine days by eating the stuffing from a mattress. Ritter therefore suggested that a scribe had inserted into the transmitted text a marginal gloss, explanatory of *miserandis alimentis*, which originated from Suet. *Tib.* 54.2 'Druso autem adeo alimenta subducta ut *tomentum* e culcita temptauerit *mandere*'; and Orelli in his second edition, quoting Ritter's note in its entirety, deleted the phrase. These objections may be treated in turn. (1) Although T.'s avoidance of *inhonesta dictu* is well established, G. nevertheless raised some doubts (Vol. 1, pp. 342–3). (2) Ritter (on 6.45.3) provided a long list of T.'s abl. gerunds, his only exceptions being 12.34 'minuendo metu, accendenda spe', 14.4.4 'siue explenda simulatione' and *H.* 4.26.3 'struenda acie',

each of which he claimed to be a special case. However, Nipperdey argued that T. readily admitted abl. gerundives in the feminine sing. (he added *Agr.* 9.4 'ostentanda uirtute') and, even more so, in the plural of any gender (many exs.), and that it was only the masc. and neut. singular which T. avoided; to Ritter's 12.34 he was able to add only 13.13.2 'nimia nuper coercendo filio' and 13.57.1 'gignendo sale fecundum' (which he emended to *sali*). Yet, while the combined evidence of Ritter and Nipperdey clearly displayed T.'s preferences, it also disclosed sufficient exceptions to defend the construction transmitted here, especially since our passage arguably illustrates the very type of exception acknowledged by each scholar, namely, the juxtaposition of another abl., *miserandis alimentis*. (3) If (as is agreed) the intention was to starve Drusus to death, he will have been deprived of food: it therefore makes no sense to say that he kept himself alive 'with wretched sustenance' *unless* it is specified that the sustenance was not food. *mandendo . . . tomento* is thus required by the logic of the passage; and, if there is objection to its repeating *miserandis alimentis*, it would have to be this latter phrase which was deleted.

Martial has successive epigrams (14.159–62) on various types of stuffing: see Leary's nn. ad locc. Presumably Drusus' mattress was stuffed with straw.

e cubili is equivalent to the genitive singular, which is not found in classical Latin (a point not mentioned in *TLL*).

Tradidere quidam . . . ducem populo imponere The phrase *si arma ab Seiano temptarentur* indicates a period after Sejanus' disloyalty was known but before his removal and execution: since Drusus was Sejanus' victim, his continued imprisonment during this period therefore requires explanation. There seem to be two possibilities: (1) Sejanus' role in Drusus' imprisonment was unknown to Tib., and hence the charges against him continued to be believed; (2) Sejanus' role was known, but Tib. preferred to keep Drusus in custody *either* [a] to punish him for his treasonable outbursts (24.2 below) *or* [b] to lull Sejanus into a false sense of security. Since a key element of the plan was to put Drusus in charge in Rome, the logic of the story requires that he be thought loyal and hence that (2) [b] is correct. This explains the rumour, mentioned in the next sentence, that Tib. was going to be reconciled with Drusus. However, since Drusus in fact remained in custody after Sejanus' execution and was in due course killed (as is stated in the previous sentence and repeated by *saeuitia* in the next), the real explanation must lie elsewhere. It follows that the treatment received by Drusus is incompatible with the story told by the nameless historians ('tradidere quidam'). Varying versions of the strange story appear also in Suetonius (*Tib.* 65.2) and Dio (58.13.1); for discussion see J. Pigoń, 'Drusus Imperator? An episode in the fall of Sejanus in Tacitus, Suetonius, and Cassius Dio', *Antiquitas* 18 (1993) 183–90.

For the infin. after *praescribo* K–S (1.683) quote Cic. *Font.* 22.

Macroni See 15.2n.

Mox, quia rumor incedebat . . . 'But later [i.e. after Sejanus' fall], because a rumour had been circulating that . . . ' *rumor incedit* is unique to, and a favourite of, T. amongst classical authors (1.5.1n.; Malloch on 11.32.1).

nuru ac nepoti *–u* for the dat. sing. of fourth-declension nouns is relatively rare in prose, and *–ui* is the regular form in T. (120×). Exceptions are *nuru* here (*-ui* at 4.12.4, 4.54.1); *senatu* at 1.10.2 (:27); *luxu* at 3.30.2, 3.34.5, 15.48.3, *H.* 2.71.1 (:2); *decursu* at 3.33.3; *commeatu* at 12.62 (:1). On the assumption that the text is correct in each case, the evidence suggests characteristic Tacitean *uariatio*. See Neue–Wagener 1.545.

saeuitiam quam paenitentiam maluit *paenitentia*, mentioned as a possibility at 5.4.1, suggests that Tib. could have capitalised on the rumour if he had so chosen; instead he made it the very reason for confirming his reputation for cruelty (*saeuitia* is above all a characteristic of the tyrant: 19.3n. *quantumque*). For the antithesis elsewhere cf. Sen. *Clem.* 1.11.2, Petron. 91.2; the double cretic is one of Cicero's preferred clausulae.

24.1 Quin et . . . obiecit As *in defunctum* shows, we are now returned to the immediate aftermath of Drusus' death ('Drusus . . . detinuisset'), which T. left to report the intervening story and rumour. *probra corporis*, an unparalleled expr., presumably refers to the same accusation as was laid against Drusus' brother at 5.3.2 (n. *amores*): cf. *TLL* 10.2.1481.34–5, 1482.26ff.

exitiabilem . . . animum Sejanus had set Drusus against his brother, Nero, and both of them on their arrest had been declared public enemies by the *princeps* (4.60.2–3; Suet. *Tib.* 54.2, *Cal.* 7 'senatus Tiberio criminante hostes iudicauit'). The *uariatio* of prep. phrase ~ dat. noun is common (Sörbom 83); for *infensus* see 5.3.2n.

descripta per dies The treatment meted out to Drusus mirrors that suffered earlier by his brother, Nero (4.67.4): 'miles nuntios, introitus, aperta, secreta uelut in annales referebat'. *descriptum* as a noun ('account' *vel sim.*) is almost unique (*TLL* 5.1.664.30–3, adding only Avian.); the prep. phrase functions as an adj., aided by the verbal nature of the noun (cf. e.g. 4.2.1 'uisu inter se').

tot per annos Since AD 30 (23.2n. *Drusus*).

qui uultum . . . occultum etiam murmur exciperent *uultus* refers to one's facial expression at any given moment (5.3.2n. *adrogantiam*). For *murmur* compare again the experiences of Drusus' brother (4.60.2): 'ne nox quidem secura, cum uxor uigilias, somnos, suspiria matri Liuiae atque illa Seiano patefaceret'. The expr. recurs only at 2.34.8 'plures per silentium aut occultum murmur excepere'.

et potuisse auum . . . uix fides The verb here has the sense of 'could bring himself to ~ ' (*OLD* 3), and the deployment of *auum* instead of e.g. *Caesarem* is pathetic. Although the incredulity is that of the senators, T.'s reference to it invites the astonishment also of his readers (see Vell. 56.1n., 130.1n.; Z. M. Packman, 'The incredible and the incredulous: the vocabulary of disbelief in Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon', *Hermes* 119 (1991) 399–414).

nisi quod . . . seruorum nomina praeferebant Perhaps not just 'displayed' or 'carried' but 'were headed by'. If a document was to be legally valid, it had to be authenticated, which meant that it had to bear its author's name. The Roman legal system took into account the social status of individuals, including witnesses, as the distinction between *honestiores* and *humiliores* attests (cf. J. A. Crook, *Law and life of Rome* (1967) 81): the acceptance of slaves as witnesses indicates the contempt with which Drusus had been regarded.

24.2 uerba . . . saeuitiae plena Centurions were notoriously violent (e.g. 1.23.3, 1.32.1, *H.* 4.14.3, *Agr.* 15.2). For the expr. cf. Cic. *Phil.* 2.9 'uerbum . . . plenum humanitatis', Hor. *AP* 106 'uerba . . . plena minarum', Sen. *Ep.* 10.3 'uerba . . . roboris plena'.

tamquam egregium T. is fond of an accusative expr. in apposition to a clause or sentence (1.27.1n.); he is also fond of parentheses (e.g. *H.* 5.17.3 'ita illis mos'), although this idiom is hard to distinguish from the former in the numerous cases where a neuter adj. or noun is involved, as at 10.3 above ('rarum in tanta claritudine') or 37.2 below ('auspicium prosperi transgressus') or 4.28.1 ('miseriarum ac saeuitiae exemplum atrox'). Here the parenthetical remark expresses not authorial comment but the character's feelings, like Hor. *Serm.* 1.4.10 'ut magnum'. Whether *egregium* is truly substantival is hard to tell (3.70.3n.).

primo . . . funesta Tiberio Scholars have deleted one or other of *alienationem mentis simulans* and *quasi per dementiam* on the grounds of redundancy. But, as Walther saw, it is clear that the second half of the sentence (*mox . . .*) mirrors the first (*primo . . .*) and that *alienationem mentis simulans* is balanced by *ubi exspes uitae fuit* (for the *uariatio* see Sörbom 117) and *quasi per dementiam* by *meditatas compositasque* (Sörbom 79–80). The two phrases refer respectively to Drusus' own actions and to the style of his imprecations. *alienatio mentis* is a technical expr. (Cels. 4.2.123, Scrib. Larg. 179, Plin. *NH* 21.155, [Quint.] *Decl.* 12.8); for *quasi per dementiam* Draeger–Heraeus compare Sall. *C.* 42.2 'ueluti per dementiam'.

funesta Tiberio, mox . . . meditatas compositasque diras imprecabatur ut . . . An acc. + dat. after *imprecor* is common (*TLL* 7.1.675.42–3), an *ut*-clause much less so (ibid. 74–6); the combination of an acc. + *ut*,

as here, seems paralleled only at Mart. 7.24.7–8 'hoc . . . imprecor . . . | ut facias illud' (where *hoc* arguably makes a difference): for *diras imprecari* cf. Plin. *NH* 8.21, *HA Did. Jul.* 4.3, Auson. p. 692.6G. The substantival use of *funestus* is equally choice (otherwise only at Stat. *Theb.* 11.503 'funesta precatur', Amm. 20.7.15, *HA Opell.* 14.1; *TLL* 6.1.1584.44–6). For *meditatas compositasque* cf. Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.74 'compositosque sales meditataque uerba locutus' (where Van Dam quotes Liv. 40.15.12 'tempus ad meditandum et componendam orationem'), Suet. *Aug.* 84.1 'meditata et composita oratione': the point implied by the two adjs. is (as it were) illustrated below by the elaboration of *quem ad modum . . . ita . . .* (for *meditatus* = 'carefully prepared' see 3.5.2n.).

exspes uitae 'Sometimes a new or unexpected word will deepen the pathos of a situation' (Walker 61, referring to this passage): *exspes* is otherwise exclusively poetical in classical Latin, and the gen. is paralleled only at Acc. *Trag.* 376R^3 'exspes liberum' (*TLL* 5.2.1902.13–34).

quemadmodum . . . domumque caedibus compleuisset *caede complere* ('fill with slaughter') occurs at *H.* 3.29.2, Sall. *J.* 92.3 and Liv. 2.17.2; here the plural indicates that *caedibus* means 'corpses', as *H.* 3.70.2, 4.1.1 'plenae caedibus uiae' (G–G 146a, *OLD caedes* 3a); the notion is as old as the *Iliad* (21.218). Naturally the expr. is inapplicable to *nurum filiumque fratris et nepotes*: scholars either insert a verb such as *necasset* after *nepotes* (Ritter) or assume a zeugma. Although it is dramatically effective to imagine that Agrippina (*nurum*), Germanicus (*filium . . . fratris*), Nero Caesar and Drusus himself (*nepotes*) have all already been killed, the facts are that Agrippina is still alive and Drusus is currently speaking:[76] strictly it is a verb like 'destroyed' or 'condemned' which is applicable to all four listed individuals, and it is perhaps more difficult to understand such a verb by zeugma from *caedibus compleuisset*. There seems to be a strong case for suggesting that a verb such as *damnasset*, as proposed by Prof. Courtney, has been omitted by mistake.

24.3 Obturbabant quidem patres specie detestandi *obturbare* is quasi-technical (3.34.1n.); *detestandi* has generally been misunderstood: it does not mean 'abhor', 'detest' (*OLD* 2) but 'ward off', 'avert', 'forfend' (*OLD* 3): the senators make a show of countering – no doubt by some such exclamation as 'di auerruncent!' (Cic. *Att.* 9.2a.1) – Drusus' reported wish that Tib. should die. The scene is highly visual.

sed penetrabat pauor et admiratio The verb, a favourite (G–G 1087a–b), suggests the inner reality of the senators' feelings (cf. Sil. 16.514 'penetrans pauor in praecordia') as opposed to the emotional display which they had started to put on (cf. *quidem . . . sed . . .*). The combination of the two nouns is Livian (1.16.4, 7.10.12, 40.8.3).

[76] It is true that Drusus may think that Agrippina is already dead.

callidum olim et tegendis sceleribus obscurum *obscurus* here means 'secretive' (*OLD* 7b): see the interesting list at Cic. *Off.* 3.57 'uersuti potius, obscuri, astuti, fallacis, malitiosi, callidi, ueteratoris, uafri'. The gerundive, which may perhaps be taken equally with *callidum* (cf. 2.57.2 and n.), is presumably abl. of respect (as 51.3), though Nipperdey and Platner (470) understand both as dat. For *scelus/-era tegere* cf. Cic. *Verr.* 5.32, *Sull.* 86, Val. Max. 9.4.1, Curt. 6.7.7, Sen. *Thy.* 1094–5, *Ep.* 105.8.

ut tamquam dimotis parietibus ostenderet nepotem . . . frustra orantem *ostenderet* implies that the recitation of the reports has constituted an example of *euidentia* (Quint. 9.2.40 'cum res non gesta indicatur sed *ut sit gesta ostenditur*') or *demonstratio* (*Rhet. Herenn.* 4.68 'cum ita uerbis res exprimitur ut geri negotium et res ante oculos esse uideatur'). The technique, as Quintilian says ('per partes'), relies above all on vivid and specific detail (Lausberg 359ff. §§810ff.), exactly what T.'s summary provides in its use of prepositional phrases (*sub . . . inter . . .*) and participle (*orantem*); and the effect is to turn listeners into spectators (Quint. 9.2.40) or even participants (4.2.123, 6.2.32 'si rebus ipsis intersimus'). I have suggested elsewhere (*PH* 354–5 and n. 46) that T. is thinking in theatrical terms and that the invitation to imagine walls being moved aside (*tamquam dimotis parietibus*) recalls for his readers those moments in Senecan tragedy where references to the opening of buildings precede interior scenes of grimness or horror (e.g. *Phaedr.* 384, *Thy.* 901–8, *HF* 999–1001).

***s*ub uerbere centurionis, *i*nter *s*eruorum *i*ctus** As a symbol of their rank, centurions carried a handy vine-staff with which they could beat recalcitrants (1.23.3; Courtney on Juv. 14.193); for violence from centurions and slaves alike cf. *Agr.* 15.2 'centuriones . . . seruos uim et contumelias miscere'. The physical sufferings of Drusus recall the mental sufferings of the *princeps* (6.6.2 'ictus . . . uerberibus'), a parallelism between the two men which will recur finally and vindictively at the very end of the emperor's life, when he too is denied the food which he craves (50.4–5). For *uerbere* see 5.9.1n.; for *uitae alimenta* (below) cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 254.3 'Xanthippe Myconi patri incluso carcere lacte suo alimentum uitae praestitit.'

25.1 Nondum is dolor exoleuerat cum de Agrippina auditum The combination of *nondum* + inverted *cum*, which recurs in T. only at 4.64.1 'nondum ea clades exoleuerat cum . . . ', is absent from Sallust and only twice in Livy: the adv. brings 'une vivacité extrême à l'événement introduit par la conjonction' (Chausserie-Laprée 574). Agrippina had been banished to the island of Pandateria in 29 (Suet. *Tib.* 53.2); for the date of her death see below, 3n. (*quintum*).

spe sustentatam prouixisse reor Although *spe sustentare* is a regular expr. (Cic. *Flacc.* 3, *Fam.* 6.6.13, [Sall.] *Ep. Caes.* 1.6.2),[77] both the narrative's sustained motif of food (above, pp. 148–9) and the contrast with Agrippina's eventual starvation (below) indicate that *sustentatam* means 'nourished' here (*OLD* 3a): there is a somewhat similar use of language at Front. *Strat.* 3.5.1 'Thracas omnia *uictui necessaria* in montes conportasse unaque *spe sustentari*, quod crederent eum *commeatus inopia* recessurum . . . '. *prouiuere* ('to continue living', 'prolong one's life') is unique in classical Latin, unless one agrees with G. (Vol. 2, p. 173 n. 2) in accepting Shaw-Smith's emendation at 14.29.1 (doubts are expressed at *TLL* 10.2.2349.46–8). For *reor* see 3.22.4n.

postquam nihil de saeuitia remittebatur Although *saeuitia* could refer simply to Agrippina's continued detention, Suetonius reports that Tib. had her so badly beaten by a centurion that she lost an eye (*Tib.* 53.2). *postquam* + imperf. implies cause (15.1n.): whether the clause is strictly part of the acc. + inf. after *reor*, as *exstinctam* below would suggest, is unclear and not clarified by the indic. mood (1.10.2n.). For the idiomatic *nihil remittere de* + abl. see *OLD remitto* 10b.

uoluntate exstinctam The view that Agrippina chose starvation as her method of suicide is to be inferred from the alternative mentioned below, viz. that she was denied food ('negatis alimentis').

nisi si . . . adsimulatus est finis qui uideretur sponte sumptus 'unless of course by the denial of nourishment an end was simulated which was to seem to have been undertaken spontaneously.' The meaning and syntax are not straightforward. It is here assumed that *adsimulatus* has the same meaning as at 4.8.1 'deligit uenenum quo . . . fortuitus morbus adsimularetur' (G–G 45a; *OLD* 5b) and that *uideretur*, like *procideret* at 4.18.1, illustrates the use of an imperfect subjunc. in relative clauses which express 'futurity regarded from a past point of view' (S. A. Handford, *The Latin subjunctive* (1947) 84–5): see further 49.1n. (*ad ea*), *Agr.* 42.1n. *sponte sumere*, when used of death, is a favourite of T. (*OLD sumo* 5d; see also 3.7.2n.).

25.2 Enimuero contrasts Tib.'s allegation of suicide ('ad taedium uitae compulsam') with the suggestion of murder with which the previous sentence ended ('nisi si . . . sumptus'), although reference works give the impression that the adversative meaning of the particle is rare (*TLL* 5.2.593.7ff., 46ff., and esp. *OLD* 3). The *princeps*' allegation will itself be contradicted in the sentence which follows ('sed Agrippina . . . exuerat'), although Suetonius says that Agrippina committed suicide only after an initial attempt at self-starvation was prevented by Tib. himself (*Tib.* 53.2 'mori inedia destinanti per uim

[77] Livy prefers *spe sustinere* (8.27.2, 22.2.6).

ore diducto infulciri cibum iussit. sed et perseuerantem atque ita absumptam . . . ').

foedissimis criminationibus exarsit Although the fire metaphor is common (Walker 62–3) and *exardesco* a favourite verb (G–G 411b–412a; Malloch on 11.12.2), T. is nevertheless graphic compared with Suetonius (*Tib.* 53.2 'criminosissime insectatus').

impudicitiam . . . adulterum Tib. had been unable to find a convincing charge of *impudicitia* against her in 29 (5.3.2), since when she had languished on Pandateria; Asinius Gallus had been under house arrest arrest since 30 (23.1n. *Asinii*): unless the *princeps* has suddenly lost control of his senses, he must be referring to an earlier liaison for which he was obliged to rely on new evidence, or the device of it, in support of his accusations. See also Langlands 344–5.

taedium uitae is said to be 'an Ovidian innovation, based on the verbal expression *taedet uitae*' (Gaertner on Ov. *Ex P.* 1.9.31, referring to Cic. *Att.* 5.16.2 and providing a long list of parallels); but one of the parallels is not Sen. *Suas.* 6.17, as Gaertner says, but Liv. fr. 59 Jal – and Livy had written Book 120 before Ovid wrote *Ex Ponto* 1.

aequi impatiens, dominandi auida *aequi* is more probably neuter ('equality') than masc. ('an equal'), though cf. 4.3.2 'impatiens aemuli'. Commentators see an allusion to Stat. *Theb.* 3.602–3 'aequi |impatiens', to which may perhaps be added Sen. *Cons. Pol.* 14.4 'impatiens iuris aequi'; Pompey's famous inability to tolerate an equal is expressed by Lucan (1.124–6) with *impatiens* + gen. (though differently applied). *auida* ('greedy for') sees domination in terms of desirable food, as again at 4.12.3, where Agrippina was allegedly 'open-mouthed for domination' ('inhiare dominationi': see *OLD inhio* 1a); on her alleged ambition see also 4.52.3 'correptamque Graeco uersu admonuit [sc. Tiberius] non ideo laedi quia non regnaret' (and next n.).

***uir*ilibus curis feminarum *uit*ia exuerat** Although the construction is rather different, T. perhaps remembered Seneca's *uitiis exuere* at *Ep.* 11.1 and 104.21. At any rate the metaphor, a favourite (1.2.1n.), looks back to Agrippina's actions in 15 (1.69.1): 'femina ingens animi munia ducis per eos dies induit' (*curas* follows). *uirilibus curis* may well be an allusion to Virg. *Aen.* 9.311 'curamque uirilem'.

According to Furneaux, T. is not implying that Agrippina ever had these *uitia*, and he compares *Agr.* 9.3 'tristitiam et adrogantiam et auaritiam exuerat'; but the *Agr.* passage is controversial and probably interpolated (see n.): T.'s point is that, as a woman, Agrippina would naturally have been born with the flaws common to all women (the context makes it clear that the reference is to their supposedly voracious sexual appetite), but, because her

priorities lay elsewhere, she had successfully rid herself of them (for this notion see Fronto p. 53.18–19 vdH² 'omnes deinde paulatim uitia insita exuerent').[78] T.'s statements about women are conventional and typical of the ancient world: see e.g. 4.3.3 'neque femina amissa pudicitia alia abnuerit', which I now think is a generalisation,[79] or *Agr.* 6.1 (n.). For more on manly women see 3.33.2–3nn.; for further bibliography see Sinclair 243 n. 12, to which add F. Santoro L'Hoir, *The rhetoric of gender terms* (1992), T. Späth, *Männlichkeit und Weiblichkeit bei Tacitus* (1994) and in *CT* 447f.

25.3 Eodem die . . . memoriaeque id prodendum addidit Caesar Agrippina experiences the opposite of *damnatio memoriae*, but the Romans were fascinated by calendrical coincidences and 'same' days (5.1.2n. (*adeo*), Vell. 53.3n.; Feeney 158–60).

quod non . . . proiecta foret As had happened to Sejanus and his family (EJ p. 42): cf. Suet. *Tib.* 53.2 'imputauit etiam quod non laqueo strangulatam in Gemonias abiecerit' (and next n.). For *foret* see 3.14.4n.

ob id grates Cf. again Suet. *Tib.* 53.2 'proque tali clementia interponi decretum passus est, quo sibi gratiae agerentur et Capitolino Ioui donum ex auro sacraretur'. Compare the episodes of thanksgiving at 14.12.1 and 14.64.3. For *ob* see 3.5.2n., and for *grates* see 3.18.3n.

quintum decimum Kal. Nouembres 18 October (cf. EJ p. 42). *ante diem* has to be understood, as again at 50.4.

26.1 Cocceius Nerua M. Cocceius Nerva was suffectus in 21 or 22 and appointed *curator aquarum* in 24. He accompanied Tib. on his departure from Rome in 26 (4.58.1) and had been with him ever since – the *princeps*' only senatorial companion. He was grandfather of the emperor Nerva. See *RE* 4.131–2 = Cocceius 14 (Jörs), *PIR* 2.291–2 no. 1225, *BNP* 3.494 [Cocceius 5].

continuus <comitatu> principis, omnis diuini humanique iuris sciens M's *principis oñs* was emended by Nipperdey to *principi comes*, which was accepted by Fuchs and Koestermann; but the phrase *omnis diuini humanique iuris* elsewhere (e.g. Liv. 1.18.1, 39.16.9), including *H.* 2.91.1, almost guarantees that, as commonly thought, *oñs s*hould be understood as *omnis* (for this see Cappelli 250b). That leaves *continuus principis* high and dry. Some (e.g. Lenchantin, Borzsák) simply retain it, but it is surely impossible to take *continuus* as a noun. Others accept Heinsius' *principi* and interpret this to mean 'the *princeps*' constant companion', but the dat. is quite unparalleled. It seems most likely that a noun has been omitted by mistake, although it is naturally impossible to know for certain what that noun might have been. Watt

[78] *uitia exuere* recurs at Juv. 13.188, but the passage is thought to be interpolated.
[79] See Hdt. 1.8.3, as pointed out to me by Prof. C. S. Kraus.

(354) proposed simply to move *comes* earlier in the sentence, <*comes*> *continuus principis*, but this presupposes that *continuus* = 'constant' can be used thus of a person. The nearest parallel seems to be 11.5.1 'continuus inde et saeuus accusandis reis Suillius', where the abl. encourages one rather to think that a noun such as *comitatu* may have dropped out: 'constant in the company of the *princeps*' (for this expr. cf. *H.* 2.65.2 'comitatui principis', Plin. *NH* 34.81). For Nerva's legal expertise see also 4.58.1 'cui legum peritia', Front. *Aq.* 102.4 'scientia etiam iuris inlustris'.

integro statu, corpore inlaeso Both *integer* and *status* have so many different meanings that it is very difficult to know what exactly is denoted by the first element of this chiasmus. One possible meaning of the noun is 'financial status', as at 3.28.3 (n.): the expr. as a whole would mean 'with his assets intact' (*OLD integer* 6a), as perhaps Sen. *Cons. Marc.* 26.2. Another possible meaning is 'politico-social standing', as in exs. of the phrase at Val. Max. 5.6 *praef.*, [Quint.] *Decl.* 250.4, 273.11, Gell. 6.18.7. For *corpore inlaeso* cf. Ov. *Her.* 15.168, Plin. *Ep.* 6.16.20 (the body of the elder Pliny), Sil. 17.31, Suet. *Claud.* 16.3.

moriendi consilium cepit Unless one was gravely ill, like Atticus (Nep. *Att.* 22.1–2) or Corellius Rufus (Plin. *Ep.* 1.12) or the anonymous blind senator dissuaded by Augustus (Suet. *Aug.* 53.3), suicide by starvation was relatively rare and thus usually the means of making a point (van Hooff 40–6): the only previous suicide by starvation in the *Annals* has been that of Cremutius Cordus (4.35.4). Dio alleges that Nerva was protesting against the financial measures which Tib. had introduced (58.21.4), but this, though accepted at face value by Plass (*GDAR* 104–5) and Grimm (57), seems trivialising in the extreme (cf. Syme, *RP* 4.229) and, if T. has just referred to Nerva's healthy financial situation (last n.), illogical. See further below, 2n. (*auersatus*).

adsidere 'Proprium de hac re verbum' (Walther): see *Agr.* 45.4; *OLD* 1c. The sequence of historic infinitives, arranged chiastically, is intended to convey the urgency of the situation (Rademacher 101, 239, though he mysteriously omits *fateri*).

***graue* conscientiae, *graue* famae suae** The anaphora (almost identical to that at 1.10.9) suggests Tib.'s insistence, which is countered by Nerva's own implied anaphora below (*dum . . . dum . . .*); *graue famae suae* resembles *graue moderationi suae* at 2.36.2, another Tiberian speech: perhaps a fleeting suggestion of an imperial idiolect? Various associations of *conscientia* and *fama* are found in a wide range of authors but esp. in Seneca and Pliny: to the exs. quoted on Vell. 115.5 add *Agr.* 27.1, Cic. *Clu.* 187, Sall. *J.* 35.4, Sen. *Ben.* 2.33.2–3, 6.42.2, *Clem.* 1.15.5, *Ira* 3.41.1, *Ep.* 81.20, Plin. *Ep.* 1.12.3.

si . . . uitam fugeret Though found also in Seneca (*Ep.* 92.20) and pseudo-Quintilian (*Decl.* 8.21), the language is esp. Ciceronian (*TLL* 6.1.1489.80ff.).

26.2 *Auérśatus śérmonem Nerua abstinentiam cibi coniunxit* Nerva's silence in the face of Tib.'s remonstrances invites the inference that the responsibility for his suicide rests with the *princeps* himself; and, though the primary meaning of *abstinentiam cibi coniunxit* is 'he continued his abstinence from food', the verb almost suggests that Nerva has deliberately 'joined his starvation' to that of Gallus, Drusus and Agrippina, and hence that he has chosen this manner of death as an eloquent comment on theirs.[80] *auersatus sermonem* is Senecan (*Const. Sap.* 10.2); *abstinentia* covers everything from mere abstemiousness through fasting to total starvation (*TLL* 1.191.64ff.) and can be used absolutely (as at 4.35.4 of the suicide of Cremutius Cordus) or with *cibi* (though again only at Plin. *NH* 26.13).

quanto propius mala rei publicae uiseret Furneaux explains *propius* in terms of Nerva's being 'behind the scenes' on Capri, able to see the *mala* at close quarters; but this makes little sense of the comparative, since he had been on the island for six years already. More probably we are to understand a participle such as *ingruentia* (cf. the similar case of Arruntius at 48.2 'prospectare iam se acrius seruitium, eoque fugere simul acta et instantia').

T. is well known for the liberties he takes with comparative sentences (1.57.1n.): for the omission of *tanto* + compar. adj./adv. in the apodosis see 1.2.1, 1.74.6.

ira et metu These terms are commonly combined in a wide range of prose and verse authors from Cicero (*Tim.* 44) and Sallust (*C.* 11.8) onwards, esp. Livy, Seneca (author of the *De Ira*) and Silius, but they are commonest of all in T. (8×).

dum integer, dum intemptatus The anaphora (a mannerism of Virgil: see e.g. Austin on *Aen.* 1.607) and alliteration convey the suggestion that Nerva's intimates are quoting his words. *intemptatus* in the sense of 'unassailed' is otherwise only in Val. Max. 9.15.2 and Sen. *Ep.* 66.52 (*TLL* 7.1.2112.52–6, 63–4; *OLD* 2).

honestum finem A seemingly unique variant on the regular *honesta mors* (e.g. *Agr.* 33.6).

26.3 Plancinam traxit Commentators interpret 'took P. with her'; an alternative, perhaps more likely, is 'dragged down', 'felled' or 'ruined': the same meaning recurs at 3.54.5 'haec omissa funditus rem publicam trahet'; for a person as object cf. Sen. *HF* 307–8.

Plancina and Agrippina had been long-standing enemies (below): the coincidence of their deaths is therefore remarkable, and indeed T. draws attention

[80] Since T. regularly uses *coniungere* of joining together narrative topics (38.1n.), there may even be a self-reflexive meaning here: Nerva 'continued <the narrative of> abstinence from food'.

to it by the parenthetical *quod uix credibile* (whether *est* or *fuit* is to be supplied is unclear); but this raises the question why he, unlike Dio (58.22.5), has chosen to separate their deaths by the suicide of Cocceius Nerva (Syme, *RP* 4.232, 234). I have suggested elsewhere that, in keeping with the dominant metaphor of the year's narrative (above, pp. 148–9), T. wished to preserve an unbroken sequence of four deaths by starvation (*PH* 355–7).

For Plancina see *PIR* 5.2.321–2 no. 737, *BNP* 9.283 [Munatia Plancina]; Raepsaet-Charlier 462–3 no. 562; Eck et al. 322 (index 'Munatia Plancina').

Nupta . . . defensa erat The sentence summarises the narrative from Germanicus' death in 19 (2.75.2) to the end of the trial of Cn. Piso in 20 (3.17.4).

cum Piso caderet 'when Piso was losing his case/being convicted': the verb is technical (*OLD* 11b).

precibus Augustae nec minus inimicitiis Agrippinae The role of Livia Augusta in defending Plancina is given at *SCPP* 109–20; see esp. 3.1–17 and nn. For the antagonism of Agrippina see 2.55.6, 2.74.2–75.2 (and 82.1), 3.15, 3.17.1–2.

Vt odium et gratia desiere, ius ualuit The 'hatred' is that of Agrippina (~ *inimicitiis Agrippinae*), the 'influence' that of Livia (~ *precibus Augustae*); the chiasmus extends to their deaths, since the latter had died first, in 29 (5.1.1). 'Even after Livia's death Plancina's continued antagonism towards Agrippina made her survival acceptable to Tiberius, who had an equal detestation of Agrippina. But after Agrippina's death she had no further claim on Tiberius' goodwill, and was now an easy target for renewed accusation' (Martin). *odium* and *gratia* are a regular pairing (e.g. Liv. 2.27.3), esp. in T. (e.g. 4.35.1).

petitaque . . . supplicia persoluit This sentence explains *ius ualuit*, so *–que* is epexegetic. The 'not unfamiliar charges' appear to be the 'pluruma et grauissuma crimina' relating to the death of Germanicus more than a decade previously (*SCPP* 109; Eck et al. 222–3). That divine vengeance works slowly is a proverb (see e.g. Smith or Murgatroyd on Tib. 1.9.4); T. seems to have applied the idea to the mundane circumstances of Plancina's suicide.

27.1 Tot luctibus funesta ciuitate As is to be expected in a city ruled by a tyrant (Plato, *Rep.* 576e τυραννουμένης μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀθλιωτέρα, 578a Ὀδυρμούς τε καὶ στεναγμοὺς καὶ θρήνους καὶ ἀλγηδόνας οἴει ἔν τινι ἄλλῃ πλείους εὑρήσειν;, 580a).

Iulia . . . uxor Julia, now roughly 30 years of age, was daughter of Tib.'s son, Drusus, and had married Nero Caesar, son of Germanicus, in 20 (3.29.3 'auctum dehinc gaudium nuptiis Neronis et Iuliae, Drusi filiae' and n.); Nero, accused by Tib. in 29 (5.3.1–2) and banished to the island of Pontia, had died

in 30 or 31. The fact that T. does not mention a connection between Julia and Sejanus suggests, but (given the context) does not necessarily prove, that it was not Julia but her mother, Livi(ll)a, who married Sejanus in 31 (5.6.2n. *ille*). See *BNP* 6.1038 [Iulia II 8]; Raepsaet-Charlier 360–2 no. 422.

pars maeroris fuit quod . . . If readers are expecting that an element of the community's sorrow will be another notable death, they find instead that the sorrow is caused by an unsuitable marriage (which thus contrasts with the joy accompanying Julia's earlier marriage to Nero: last n.). In a further twist, the celebration that might have attended the marriage is instead devoted to a funeral (2 below: *celebrata*).

denupsit in domum Rubellii Blandi For Blandus, suffect in AD 18 and elder brother or perhaps uncle of the consul of 29 (5.1.1n. *Rubellio*), see 3.23.2n.; Rüpke 871 no. 2922. He was now nearly 60 and would proceed to the proconsulate of Africa in 35/36. His background and marriage to Julia, along with manifold ramifications, have been discussed in great detail by Syme, *RP* 4.177–98 (= 'The marriage of Rubellius Blandus', *AJP* 103 (1982) 62–85).

Like Draeger–Heraeus, whom he does not cite, R. O. A. M. Lyne (*Latomus* 28 (1969) 1066–7) argued that here and at Ov. *Met.* 12.195–6 'nec Caenis in ullos | denupsit thalamos' (its first occurrence) the rare compound *denubere* conveys the notion of 'leaving the parental home'; but he acknowledged that sometimes it is used as a mere synonym for *nubere* (as at 15.37.4). In support of his argument Lyne maintained that the simple *nubere* is not found with *in domum*, but Nipperdey had already cited Liv. 4.4.10; cf. also [Quint.] *Decl.* 338.9 'domo in quam uirgo nupserat', where Winterbottom compares Cic. *Cael.* 34 'in familiam . . . nupsisses'. These exs. suggest that the two verbs are synonymous here, as Ernesti and Walther among others believed.

cuius auum . . . plerique meminerant The elder Blandus (on whom see also Syme, *RP* 4.180) was a rhetorician, perhaps also an historian (cf. Serv. on Virg. *G.* 1.103), and the first Roman *eques* to teach at Rome, according to Haase's emended text of the elder Seneca (*Contr.* 2 *praef.* 5 'qui <primus> eques Romanus Romae docuit'), who quotes Blandus very frequently; perhaps *plerique meminerant* is an oblique allusion to Seneca, who begins his work with remarks about his memory (1 *praef.* 2–4). The derogatory reference to Tibur (cf. also 14.22.2) matches that to Cales at the start of the year (15.1). Ironically Juvenal (8.39ff.) chooses a Rubellius Blandus to illustrate someone who fails to live up to his distinguished ancestors, but whether this person is fictitious (as suggested by Syme, *Tac.* 577, 628) or is an otherwise unattested son of the marriage of our Blandus and Julia is uncertain.

27.2 Extremo anni is a Livian expr. (39.6.3, 39.23.3; cf. 35.11.1, 39.45.8) which is found nowhere else apart from here. It introduces the funeral of

Aelius Lamia, whose death is recorded by the restored version of the *Fasti Ostienses* as having taken place in late November or early December (*Inscr. Ital.* 13.1, p. 189): *D*]*ec. Lami*[*a, praef*(*ectus*) *urb*(*is*), *exc*(*essit*).]. Scholars therefore state that T.'s *extremo anni* is 'confirmed' by the 'external evidence' of the inscription (e.g. Ginsburg 111 n. 13, Syme, *RP* 4.225). It is worth pointing out, however, that only six letters of this line of the inscription have survived (Syme's 'two words' is misleading); the rest is conjecture, and it is difficult not to believe that the line has been emended on the basis of T.'s *extremo anni* and that the inscription cannot therefore be used as independent evidence in support of T. There is no guarantee that *ec* is a reference to December or (as far as can be seen) that the defective word came at the start of the line; and, even if it did, not every line in the inscription begins with a date. The missing word might equally well be the epigraphically common *dec*(*essit*), referring to Lamia or to some other person, in which case the date of Lamia's death remains unattested apart from T.'s *extremo anni* – and it is generally accepted that he places at the end of a narrative year the obituary notices of persons who died at various points within the calendar year (3.30.1n.). In fact the phraseology with which Lepidus' death is introduced at 4 below ('obiit eodem anno') suggests, but admittedly does not prove, that despite *extremo anni* he at least did indeed die at some other point during the year. The intervening case of Pomponius Flaccus (3) is itself controversial (see n.), although the emphasis there is on the *princeps*' letter rather than on Flaccus' death.

mors Aelii Lamiae funere censorio celebrata The expr. *funus censorium* is exclusive to T. (again at 4.15.2, 13.2.3, *H.* 4.47) and the *HA* (*Pert.* 15.1, *Sept. Sev.* 7.8), although it has been suggested to fill part of a large lacuna at *CIL* 6.31293. Scholars assume that a censorial funeral was identical with a *publicum funus*, for which see 11.3 and n. L. Aelius Lamia had been *ordinarius* in AD 3 and proconsul of Africa in 15/16 or 16/17: see *RE* 1.522 = Aelius 76 (von Rohden), *PIR* 1.34–5 no. 200, *BNP* 1.205 [Aelius II 16]; Syme, *AA* 427–8.

administrandae Syriae imagine tandem exsolutus Lamia and Arruntius (3 below) are the only two attested examples of Tib.'s retention of provincial governors in Rome (1.80.3, Suet. *Tib.* 63.2): it is thought that Lamia's 'tenure' of Syria was 22–32, at which point he became *praefectus urbi* (below) in succession to Piso (10.3–11.3 above); in his absence Syria seems to have been administered by the Pacuvius mentioned at 2.79.2 (n.). Although T. is remarkably fond of the word *imago* (G–G 563a–564b),[81] his description of Lamia's phantom tenure is particularly striking: if he is alluding to Val. Fl.

[81] The precise nuance will of course vary depending on context. Here, for ex., Martin compares 3.17.3 'hac imagine cognitionis'; but in that case there was an actual trial, whereas in our passage Lamia did not govern Syria.

2.219 'hac nostras exsoluat imagine noctes' (the only other ex. of the phrase), the suggestion is that Lamia had been released from a ten-year nightmare.

M reads *Suriae* here but *Syriae* at 3 below, a similar inconsistency to 13.8.2–3 and *H.* 2.78.3–4; whether it is right to regularise is uncertain. See 2.60.3n.

genus . . . decorum Lamia was a *nouus homo*, but patrician status had perhaps been accorded to his father, the probable recipient of Hor. *Odes* 1.26, 1.36 and 3.17, of which the last constructs a distinguished mythological pedigree for him (see N–H and N–R ad locc., F. Cairns, *Roman Lyric* (2012) 412–40; Syme, *AA* 51–2, 394–5, *RP* 4.169; Rüpke 510 no. 470). 'To Juvenal the Aelii Lamiae are a type of noble ancestry' (Courtney on 4.153–4, cf. 6.385).

uiuida senectus is a unique Tacitean variant on the first-century (and almost exclusively poetical) *uiuax senectus* (e.g. Sen. *Tro.* 42). The *praefectura urbis* seems to have been an office esp. associated with senior politicians (Parkin 115ff., 286ff.).

non permissa prouincia dignationem addiderat constitutes a varied allusion to Sallust's description of Cato (*C.* 54.2 'huic seueritas dignitatem addiderat', but cf. also Ascon. p. 78C 'quod is consul paulum tribunis plebis non potestatis sed dignitatis addidit'). For the nomin. use of the *ab urbe condita* construction, used to express a similar sentiment at 4.26.1 ('huic negatus honor gloriam intendit'), see 3.24.1n.

27.3 Flacco Pomponio . . . defuncto L. Pomponius Flaccus, the addressee of Ov. *Ex P.* 1.10 (where see the nn. of Helzle and Gaertner), had been *ordinarius* in AD 17 (2.32.2n., 2.41.2; *PIR* 6.316–17 no. 715, *BNP* 11.579 [Pomponius II 10]). Appointed to his province only in the previous year after a night of heavy drinking with the *princeps* (cf. Suet. *Tib.* 42.1, Dio 58.19.5), he belongs to the category defined by Syme as 'governors dying in Syria' (*RP* 3.1379–81, rejecting the notion, based on Josephus, that Flaccus in fact died two years later and that T. has moved his death here 'for convenience and unity of theme'). For the reversal of names see 3.21.3n.; for *exin* (above) see 3.13.1n.

Caesaris litterae For the significance of Tiberian letters see above, 2–14 intro. n.; and for *litterae* see 3.16.1n. For *quis* (below) see 3.28.2n.

egregium quemque et . . . idoneum *egregius* here functions like a superl., as 14.31.1 'praecipui quique' (plural!) and Liv. 1.7.3 'eximium quemque', but note also 12.43.1 'inualidus quisque' (K–S 1.648, L–H–S 170; but note that the text of Sall. *H.* 3.48.19 is uncertain: see Reynolds' OCT). For the dat. gerundive with *idoneus* see 1.23.4n.

ea necessitudine See 1.9.3n.

oblitus Arruntium . . . attineri One of T.'s most effective *Satznachträge*, its cynicism balancing that at the start of the year's second half (23.1). Arruntius (1.8.3n., 3.11.2n.; *BNP* 2.30 [Arruntius II 3]; Rüpke 545 no. 724), the consul of AD 6 and one of the more frequent characters in the *Annals* (e.g. 6.5.1 above), is used as an example of an absentee governor at *H.* 2.65.2 (see also Syme, *RP* 3.1355–6). The ten-year duration of his absence (from Hispania Tarraconensis) is seemingly confirmed by Dio 58.8.3, although the individual is not named and the item is recorded under AD 31 (evidently in connection with the accusation against Arruntius to which T. refers at 6.7.1 above). For Arruntius' final speech and suicide see 47.2–48.3 below.

27.4 M. Lepidus The consul of AD 6 (1.13.2n., 3.35.1n.; Rüpke 516 no. 511) and one of the few individuals for whom T. has unqualified praise: see P. Sinclair, *Tacitus the sententious historian* (1995) 163–84; also next n.

de cuius moderatione atque sapientia . . . satis conlocaui First mentioned at 1.13.2 as 'capax imperii' (n.), Lepidus has appeared in every book except the defective fifth, but the passage which T. has esp. in mind must be 4.20.2 (n.): 'hunc ego Lepidum temporibus illis grauem et *sapientem* uirum fuisse comperior: nam pleraque ab saeuis adulationibus aliorum in melius flexit. neque tamen *temperamenti* egebat, cum aequabili auctoritate et gratia apud Tiberium uiguerit' (there follows the passage on determinism and free will, quoted above at 22.3n. *Ceterum*). For the combination of the two abstract nouns (slightly different at 4.34.5) cf. Cic. *De Or.* 1.34.

The transmitted *conlocaui* is certainly surprising, and various emendations, such as Ruperti's *conlaudaui*, have been attempted. If the verb can be defended in the sense of spending time or energy or resources on a thing (*OLD* 12),[82] we have to assume that *satis* without a partitive genitive (such as *uerborum*) is an adequate object. *multa* was supplied after *satis* by Seyffert and *laudis* by Watt (354), but I have hesitatingly concluded that the text may stand. For cross-references see 6.4.1n. (*ut rettuli*).

***N*eque *n*obilitas *d*iutius *d*emonstranda est** It is normal in an obituary notice to recall the distinguished background of the deceased; but in Lepidus' case his ancestral distinction can be passed over as easily as his moderation and wisdom, not because of any earlier treatment by T. (though cf. 3.22.1 'Aemiliorum decus', 72.1) but because his forebears were so numerous and well known. See T. P. Wiseman, 'Rome and the resplendent Aemilii', *Roman drama and Roman history* (1998) 106–20 (stemmata on p. 115 and in Syme, *AA* Table IV).

[82] *OLD* lists our passage under 1b, 'to put in a particular position (in a speech, book, etc.)', which is the preference of several Tacitean commentators.

genus fecundum bonorum ciuium Adjs. expressing fertility and the like regularly take a genitive (K–S 1.441), e.g. Luc. 1.165 'fecunda uirorum': T. has exs. both literal (e.g. 4.65 'siluae . . . fecundus') and metaphorical (14.13.1 'deterrimus quisque, quorum non alia regia fecundior extitit'); for various exs. of *genus fecundum* cf. Varr. *LL* 8.3.9, [Ov.] *Hal.* 120, Colum. *RR* 3.9.204, Manil. 2.236, 4.290, Sil. 2.498.

et qui . . . egere 'Such persons as the triumvir and his father may be here referred to' (Furneaux): for the former see 1.2.1 etc., for the latter 3.27.2n. Scholars have also seen a forward reference to Mam. Aemilius Scaurus at 29.3–4 below.

Either *egere* ('lived') is to be taken with both clauses (so Nipperdey), in which case *corruptis moribus* is abl. of attendant circumstances, or *fuerunt* is the verb to be understood in the rel. clause (so Koestermann), in which case *corruptis moribus* is abl. of description; the fact that *eadem familia* is already an abl. of description supports the former interpretation, for which G. B. A. Fletcher compared Sall. *H.* 1.11 'optimis . . . moribus et maxima concordia egit'.

28–30 THE YEAR AD 34

This year's narrative is the second shortest of the fully extant years in the *Annals*[83] and is clearly divided between foreign affairs (28) and domestic (29–30), the second commonest pattern employed by T. (Ginsburg 54, 139).[84] In this case, however, the section on foreign affairs is devoted exclusively to the legendary bird, the phoenix, which had appeared in Egypt and to which T. devotes a substantial discussion – 'the solitary digression of an exotic nature in all the *Annales*'.[85] T. had already adopted a more 'Herodotean' mode of narrative when describing Germanicus' visit to Egypt in Book 2 (60–1);[86] here in Book 6 he adopts a similar mode, especially since one of the main earlier accounts of the phoenix was provided by Herodotus himself (2.73), to whom (it is arguable) T. alludes (see nn. below).

The episode of the phoenix is self-contained and formally separated from the domestic narrative by ring composition (28.6n. *Haec*). Syme, like Ritter,

[83] The shortest by far is AD 57 (13.31–3); other short years are 18, 27, 36, 52, 53 and 56.

[84] One may, however, dispute some of Ginsburg's examples: 27, for instancee, seems exclusively domestic (54, 139).

[85] Syme, *Tac.* 472; also Hahn 64. Believing that the *Annals* was composed during the reign of Hadrian, Syme accepts the view that T.'s narrative is related to the appearance of the phoenix on Hadrianic coins of 117 and suggests that 'there is a touch of political satire in the Tacitean notice' (*Tac.* 472; cf. 771–4).

[86] See Woodman (2015) 258–62.

saw that structurally it has an aesthetic function, 'relief in the middle of a chronicle of murders',[87] yet this does not quite explain why T. should place in AD 34 an episode which the elder Pliny (*NH* 10.5) and Dio (58.26.5) place two years later, in AD 36. Scholars have made various suggestions (see 28.1n. *Paulo*), but it does not seem to have been noticed that the episode forms a ring with the story of Gaetulicus (30.2–4), thus framing the narrative at the beginning and end of the year. The conventional markers of a fabulous narrative, such as appear in the phoenix story (28.1 *miraculo*, 3 *mirantium*, 4 *firmauit*, 6 *fabulosis*), recur in the tale of Gaetulicus (30.2 *mirum*, 3 *fama*, *firmarent*, 4 *mira*, *fidem*), as if to draw attention to the similarity. Just as the phoenix was famously unique and long-lived (Ov. *Am.* 2.6.54 'uiuax phoenix, unica semper auis', *Met.* 15.392, Mela 3.83 'phoenix semper unica . . . perpetua durauit'),[88] so Gaetulicus was the only associate of Sejanus to survive the purge (30.4 'unus omnium Seiani adfinium incolumis . . . mansit'). Gaetulicus' story, like that of the phoenix, defied belief, yet it was true.[89]

28 Foreign affairs: the phoenix

28.1 Paulo Fabio L. Vitellio consulibus Paullus[90] Fabius Persicus later became proconsul of Asia around 43/4 and is described as 'amicum meum' in the speech of Claudius which has been preserved at Lyons (*ILS* 212, II 24–5): see *RE* 6.1831–5 = Fabius 120 (Groag), *PIR* 3.106–7 no. 51, *BNP* 5.299 [Fabius II 16]; Rüpke 676 no. 1598. L. Vitellius, father of the emperor, features later in Book 6 (32.3, 36–7) and proceeded to two further consulships in 43 and 47: see *RE* Suppl. 9.1733–9 = Vitellius 7c (Hanslik), *BNP* 15.476–7 [Vitellius II 3]; Rüpke 959 no. 3550; Malloch on 11.2.2. The two consuls were evidently still in office when the twentieth anniversary of Tib.'s accession was celebrated (Dio 58.24.1).

Dio (58.26.5) agrees with the elder Pliny that the year of the phoenix was not 34, when Pliny would have been about ten years old, but 36 (*NH* 10.5

[87] *Tac.* 473 n. 2; Ritter said 'rerum scriptor libenter subsistit in naturae miraculo quamvis fabuloso ad animum suum recreandum et legentium satietatem evitandam'. Egypt was regarded by Pliny as 'miraculorum ferax commendatrixque terra' (*Ep.* 8.20.2).

[88] See also van den Broek 387.

[89] Cf. 11.27 'haud sum ignarus fabulosum uisum iri . . . sed nihil compositum miraculi causa, uerum audita scriptaque senioribus trado', on which T. P. Wiseman has written: 'the event was implausible but demonstrably true – a paradox with which the historians of the ancient world were ill-equipped to deal' ('Practice and theory in Roman historiography', *History* 66 (1981) 390 = *Roman Studies* (1987) 259).

[90] The name tends to be spelled 'Paullus' on inscriptions (e.g. *CIL* 10.901, 11.3781) but editors of T. retain the spelling 'Paulus' which is found in M.

'Cornelius Valerianus phoenicem deuolauisse in Aegyptum tradit Q. Plautio Sexto Papinio consulibus'). Townend (1960), as part of his argument that T. derived the narrative element of 20.2–22.4 from Ti. Claudius Balbillus, the former prefect of Egypt (22.4n. *Quippe*), suggested that he got the phoenix story from the same source: 'Clearly the main historians did not mention this questionable event, which was vouched for only by writers familiar with Egypt', he wrote;[91] Tacitus, while extracting from Balbillus the material used in 20.2–22.4, 'noticed the detail in the same source, without any precise indication of the year, and so introduced it at the first convenient point' (118–19; cf. 115–17). E. Keitel argued that the episode, thus placed in 34, 'achieves multiple effects of irony which would come off less well (the cruel *impietas* of Tiberius and Gaius) or not at all (the destruction of the nobility, especially the patrician Aemilii) in the year 36' ('The non-appearance of the phoenix at Tacitus *Annals* 6.28', *AJP* 120 (1999) 429–42).[92]

saeculorum ambitum *ambitus* here means a 'cycle' (*OLD* 3), as presumably again at Apul. *Flor.* 18 'temporum ambitus'. T.'s expr. (varying *H.* 1.2.2 'post longam saeculorum seriem') is unparalleled but, like that of e.g. Ovid (*Met.* 15.395 'haec ubi quinque suae compleuit saecula uitae') or Martial (5.7.2 'una decem quotiens saecula uixit auis'), reminiscent of the language used by Stoics to refer to the *magnus annus* (see N–H on Hor. *C.* 1.2.5), which is indeed aligned with the phoenix' life-cycle at Plin. *NH* 10.5 'cum huius alitis uita magni conuersionem anni fieri prodit idem Manilius'. When Claudius celebrated his Ludi Saeculares in 47 (cf. 11.11), the present phoenix was brought to Rome and exhibited 'as symbol and document of a new "saeculum"' (Syme, *Tac.* 472): see further below, 4n. (*Vnde*).

auis phoenix The only other writer to use these terms in apposition is the elder Pliny, but, whereas Pliny is distinguishing the bird from the variety of date-palm (*phoenix*) from which the bird was thought to derive its name (*NH*

[91] But Hahn had inferred from Dio 58.27.1 that the phoenix 'schon in der annalistischen Geschichtsdarstellung vor Tacitus aufgezeichnet war' (62).

[92] As her title suggests, Keitel hopes to have demonstrated 'that Tacitus may well have believed that there was no genuine appearance of the Phoenix in Tiberius' time', but this is to ignore the statement of fact with which he begins (28.1 'auis phoenix in Aegyptum uenit'), which is authenticated by its juxtaposition with the consular date (so K. E. Shannon, 'Authenticating the marvellous: *Mirabilia* in Pliny the Younger, Tacitus, and Suetonius', *Working Papers on Nervan, Trajanic and Hadrianic Literature* 1.9 (2013) 13–14 (arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/literaryinteractions), and which is reinforced, not modified, by his concluding attestation of certainty (28.6 'non ambigitur'). Keitel's reference to 'the destruction of . . . the patrician Aemilii' is also tendentious, since M. Lepidus had died a natural death (27.4).

13.42 'mirumque de ea accipimus, cum phoenice aue, quae putatur ex huius palmae argumento nomen accepisse, intermori ac renasci ex se ipsa'), the juxtaposition in T. affects an expository manner, appropriate to the introduction of a bizarre topic and not unlike Hdt. 2.73.1 ὄρνις . . . τῷ οὔνομα φοῖνιξ. For the basic details of the bird see *RE* 20.414–23 (Rusch) and esp. van den Broek's comprehensive study of every aspect of the phoenix.

praebuitque materiem . . . multa super eo miraculo disserendi *materies* has a range of pertinent meanings from 'topic', 'theme' to 'opportunity', 'occasion' (see esp. *TLL* 8.459.35ff., 464.53ff.); in the present passage both meanings seem to be present, as also at e.g. Quint. 10.1.122 'magnam eos . . . materiam uere laudandi', Plin. *Ep.* 9.9.1 'materia plura scribendi', 9.13.2 'pulchramque materiam insectandi nocentes', Suet. *Claud.* 4.2 'praebenda materia deridendi' (allegedly a quotation from Augustus). In the *Annals* T. prefers the choice form *materies* to *materia* (1.32.1n.), supporting the corrected reading of M here. It is not clear whether by *miraculo* T. means the arrival of the phoenix (so *TLL* 8.1054.36) or the bird itself (as *Pan. Lat.* 3.11.3 'miracula auium'). Either way, the term serves to identify the episode as belonging more to the generic category of *fabula* than that of *historia* (e.g. 11.11.3 'fabulosa et externis miraculis adsimilata', Gell. 9.4.3 'erant autem isti omnes libri Graeci miraculorum fabularumque pleni'). Especially worth comparison is T.'s story of a prodigious bird at *H.* 2.50.2: 'ut conquirere *fabulosa* et fictis oblectare legentium animos procul grauitate coepti operis crediderim, ita uulgatis traditisque demere fidem non ausim. die quo Bedriaci certabatur *auem* inuisitata specie apud Regium Lepidum celebri luco consedisse incolae memorant, nec deinde coetu hominum aut *circumuolitantium alitum* territam pulsamue, donec Otho se ipse interficeret; tum ablatam ex oculis: et tempora reputantibus initium finemque *miraculi* cum Othonis exitu competisse'. Fabulous material is esp. suitable for digressive treatment (Quint. 4.3.12–13 'expositio quarundam rerum . . . uel etiam fabulosarum'; Lausberg 159 §342), which in turn, as T. says in the passage just quoted, is likely to provide the reader with pleasure (Cic. *Inv.* 1.27 'digressio . . . delectationis . . . causa interponitur'; Lausberg 137–8 §290.2).

This is the first appearance of *disserere super* in extant Latin (again in T. at 12.38.1); here it suggests the self-important pontificating of the expert (cf. e.g. Gell. 1.3.21 'Theophrastus autem in eo quo dixi libro inquisitius quidem super hac ipsa re et exactius pressiusque quam Cicero disserit', 17.10.1 'Fauorinum philosophum . . . memini super Pindaro poeta et Vergilio in hunc ferme modum disserere'). Nevertheless the experts' speculations provide the cue for T.'s own digression, which follows; the same technique is found more explicitly at 4.5.3 'percensuitque [sc. Tiberius] cursim numerum legionum et quas prouincias tutarentur; quod mihi quoque exsequendum reor . . . '.

doctissimis indigenarum et Graecorum 'Egyptians generally were regarded by the Romans with hatred and contempt', says J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Romans and aliens* (1979) 68. 'Yet clever Egyptians – "eruditi" is Apuleius' epithet for Egyptians (*Flor.* 6), and nobody doubted the existence of such men – climbed to positions of importance in Rome.' According to Herodotus (2.3.1) the most learned Egyptians were to be found in Heliopolis, the very destination of the phoenix (below). For T. and the Greeks see esp. 5.10.1 'promptis Graecorum animis ad noua et mira' (n.), *H.* 2.4.1 'quaeque alia laetum antiquitatibus Graecorum genus incertae uetustati adfingit'; but he refers to *Graeca doctrina* at 15.45.2.

De quibus congruunt et *p*lura *a*mbigua (sed cognitu non *a*bsurda) *p*romere libet Thus the latest of the digressive sections in Book 6 starts with a formal introduction (see Hahn 61; above 11.1n. *Namque*). *libet* is a standard term for introducing the literary treatment of a topic (3.55.1n.) and relates to the delight conventionally afforded readers by digressive material (above); for *promere* (again at 11.21.1) see esp. Hor. *AP* 144 'ut speciosa dehinc miracula promat' (*TLL* 10.2.1881.71ff., esp. 1882.39ff.). The twin objects of the infinitive, each itemised in order below (~ *consentiunt . . . uaria traduntur*), are varied (see 6.11.2n. (*qui*) for rel. clause ~ acc.), the latter of them qualified by another apologetic term associated with digressions (e.g. 4.65 'haud fuerit absurdum tradere', 12.24.1, *H.* 4.48.1 'pauca . . . non absurda', Vell. 38.1); the supine after *absurdus* is unparalleled.

28.2 Sacrum Soli id animal Pliny reports somewhat similarly (*NH* 10.4 'sacrum in Arabia Soli esse') but Herodotus omits all qualification (2.73.1 ὄρνις ἱρός). *animal* varies *auis* above and is the first in a series: *auibus*, *alites*, *uolucrum*, *uolucrem*.

ore ac *di*stinctu pinnarum a ceteris auibus *di*uersum *ore* is taken to be the beak in *OLD* (1c) but the whole of the bird's face or appearance in *TLL* (9.2.1089.37–8), noting that this is the only prose ex. of this application of the word. *distinctus* is elsewhere only at Stat. *Silv.* 1.5.41 and helps to emphasise the otherness of the bird. Syme referred to the 'picturesque or elaborate language when the historian turns his talents to portray the fabulous Arabian bird' (*Tac.* 349).

qui formam eius effinxere This looks very like an allusion to Herodotus, who says that he has seen only a picture of the bird (2.73.1 Ἐγὼ μέν μιν οὐκ εἶδον εἰ μὴ ὅσον γραφῇ). *formam effingere* is a regular expr. for various forms of representation, including drawing or painting (Cic. *Div.* 2.94, *Rhet. Herenn.* 4.63, Manil. 2.333).

28.3 maxime uulgatum quingentorum spatium This is the only figure given by Herodotus, who attributes it to the inhabitants of Heliopolis (2.73.1); the same figure in Ov. *Met.* 15.395, Mela 3.83, Sen. *Ep.* 42.1.

sunt qui adseuerent . . . interici A period of 1,461 years is suggestive of a Sothic Cycle (for which see e.g. M. F. Ingham, 'The length of the Sothic Cycle', *Journ. Egypt. Archaeol.* 55 (1969) 36–40). Martin notes that 1,461 is the number of *days* in the four-year cycle of the Julian calendar. *interici*, often used of time (*TLL* 7.1.2199.83ff.), refers to the period which is 'inserted' between each appearance of the phoenix.

prioresque alites . . . aduolauisse The name Sesosis is found again in Latin only at Plin. *NH* 36.74 (in Greek at Diod. 1.53) and is assumed to be an alternative either for the less unfamiliar Sesostris, a Greek version of the name of a legendary Egyptian king (see Asheri on Hdt. 2.102.1), or for Sethos I, who allegedly ruled Egypt around 1300 BC (van den Broek 107). Amasis (another Grecised name: Hdt. 2.162.1, 172.1) ruled 570–526 BC. *ales* is 'a choice variant upon *auis*' (Oakley on Liv. 7.26.5). Heliopolis, as its name suggests, was the most important cult centre of the sun god Re (*BNP* 6.76; Asheri on Hdt. 2.3.1).

Ptolemaeo qui ex Macedonibus tertius regnauit Ptolemy III Euergetes (cf. *H.* 4.84.4 'regnante Ptolemaeo, quem tertia aetas tulit') ruled Egypt c. 246–221 BC: he was grandson of the first Ptolemy (Soter), who had been brought up at the Macedonian court (*H.* 4.83.1 'Ptolemaeo regi, qui Macedonum primus Aegypti opes firmauit'). Whereas other Latin authors may refer to a specific Ptolemy by name, T. 'prefers periphrastic descriptions involving regnal order' (K. E. Shannon, 'Aetiology of the Other: foreign religions in Tacitus' *Histories*', in *Dichtung und Ursache. Strukturen aitiologischen Erzählens / Telling origins. The structures of aetiological narrative* (ed. C. Reitz and A. Walter (2014) 286 n. 45); indeed his descriptions of Euergetes are unique to him. There is a stemma of the Ptolemaic dynasty at *BNP* 12.131–2, but the details of much of Egyptian Hellenistic history are controversial (see e.g. W. Huss, *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit: 332–30 v. Chr.* (2001)).

multo ceterarum uolucrum . . . mirantium For the scene, here enhanced by the interlaced word order, see *H.* 2.50.2 (quoted above). *comitatus*, rarely used of birds or animals (only Val. Fl. 6.113, Plin. *NH* 10.66), almost serves to humanise the inquisitive crowd. In later texts the avian attendants are seen in terms of people gathering to admire and greet a new emperor (van den Broek 193, 228–9, 417).

28.4 antiquitas quidem obscura For the notion that the truth about antiquity is hard to discover see e.g. 6.7.3n. *quid* (and Oakley on Liv. 6.1.2), Thuc. 1.1.3, Diod. 13.90.7 τῆς ἐν τοῖς παροιχομένοις χρόνοις ἀληθείας οὔσης δυσευρέτου.

inter Ptolemaeum . . . anni fuerunt That the asyndeton is adversative, as Hahn observes (61 n. 5), is shown by *quidem* above (see 5.6.2n. *ille*) and *minus*: one cannot expect to know much about the bird's apparitions in the distant past, but the interval between Ptolemy Euergetes and AD 34 was certainly too short for the present apparition to have been regarded by everyone as genuine. *minus* is a noun, used idiomatically before (and in apposition to) expressions of number and the like, without *quam* (*OLD minus*[1] 2a). For the rhetorical device of qualifying numbers to achieve a desired effect ('less than', 'more than') see C. Rubincam, 'Qualification of numerals in Thucydides', *AJAH* 4 (1979) 77–95.

Vnde nonnulli falsum hunc phoenicem . . . credidere Pliny comments that, when the present phoenix was exhibited at Rome in Claudius' reign (above, 1n. *saeculorum*), it was attested in the official records but everyone assumed that it was false (*NH* 10.5 'allatus est in urbem Claudii principis censura anno urbis DCCC et in comitio propositus, quod actis testatum est, sed quem falsum esse nemo dubitaret'). If a bird really was on display at Rome, it was presumably one of the varieties of heron which appear in Egyptian illustrations of the phoenix (for which see Lloyd or Asheri on Hdt. 2.73.1); van den Broek has an excellent section (423–64 and Plates I–XL) on illustrations of the phoenix.

nihilque usurpauisse ex iis quae uetus memoria firmauit 'and had performed none of the things which ancient tradition has asserted.' *memoria* may here refer either to 'the collective memory which men have of the past' or to 'tradition preserved in writing or other form' (*OLD* 7–8); the combination with *uetus* (again at 3.21.1, *H.* 2.3.1, 3.51.2, *G.* 28.2) is much favoured by, but not exclusive to, Cicero. For both points see *TLL* 8.675.56ff. (our passage quoted at 676.5) and 681.20ff. *memoria firmat* seems unparalleled, although the noun is elsewhere coupled with transitive verbs (ibid. 668.8ff., 677.34ff.), e.g. Quint. 11.2.3 'quod . . . tradit'; for T.'s preference for *firmo* over *affirmo*, absolute in *A.* 1–6, see 1.81.1n.

28.5 quippe effects the transition to or. obl., as often (3.17.1n.). The details of the bird's death and reincarnation vary from author to author, e.g. Mela 3.84 'cum adoleuit, ossa pristini corporis inclusa murra Aegyptum exportat, et in urbe quam Solis adpellant flagrantibus arae bustis inferens memorando funere consecrat', Plin. *NH* 10.4 'ex ossibus deinde et medullis eius nasci primo ceu uermiculum, inde fieri pullum, principioque iusta funera priori reddere et totum deferre nidum prope Panchaiam in Solis urbem et in ara ibi deponere'. T.'s summary has some striking similarities with Herodotus (below).

et primam adulto curam . . . atque adolere Since *adultus* is the past participle of *adolere* as well as of *adolesco*, the process undergone by the offspring is expressed by a form identical to that of the verb used to express the process

undergone by its father – a linguistic suggestion of identification which mirrors that symbolised by the phoenix itself. (On the notion that the two birds are really the same bird resurrected see van den Broek 220–3.) *adolere* is 'an old ritual term' (Brown on Lucr. 4.1237).

neque id temere sed sublato murrae pondere temptatoque per longum iter, ubi par oneri, par meatui sit . . . Not only the references to carrying/testing/journeying but also the verbal repetitions seem strikingly reminiscent of Herodotus (2.73.4 πρῶτον τῆς σμύρνης ᾠὸν πλάσσειν ὅσον δυνατός ἐστι φέρειν, μετὰ δὲ πειρᾶσθαι αὐτὸ φορέοντα, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀποπειρηθῇ . . .); cf. also Ov. *Met.* 15.403 'cum dedit huic aetas uires onerique ferendo est'. The repetitions are combined with *uariatio* of *pondere* ~ *oneri* and of *iter* ~ *meatui* (which thus seems to have a more concrete meaning of 'flight' here than at *H.* 1.62.3 'aquila leni [Pichena: *leui* MSS] meatu'; cf. *TLL* 8.512.15). The assonance of *temere* ~ *temptare* naturally encouraged the juxtaposition of, or play with, these words: see especially Sall. *J.* 93.5 'non temere, uti ascenderat, sed temptans omnia et circumspiciens'.

in . . . Solis aram perferre As Hdt. 2.73.4 κομίζειν μιν . . . ἐς τοῦ Ἡλίου τὸ ἱρόν.

28.6 Haec incerta . . . non ambigitur Just as *aliquando in Aegypto eam uolucrem* picks up *consulibus . . . auis . . . in Aegyptum* at 1 above in ring composition, so *haec incerta et fabulosis aucta* and *non ambigitur* seem to pick up, either verbally or conceptually, *miraculo* and *de quibus congruunt et plura ambigua*. T.'s reference to the accretion of mythical details (*fabulosis aucta* is perhaps a distant allusion to Thuc. 1.21.1 ἐπὶ τὸ μυθῶδες ἐκνενικηκότα; cf. 4.11.3 'in miraculum corruptis' and n.) implies that such details can be stripped away, leaving a hard core of truth ('non ambigitur'); this is the familiar process of rationalisation to which ancient historians often subjected their mythical inheritance (T. P. Wiseman, *Clio's cosmetics* (1979) 49, 150–1, Marincola 118–19, 282–3). Cf. also 34.2 below.

ceterum aspici . . . non ambigitur Since seeing implies autopsy, which is the standard criterion for verification amongst the ancients (3.16.1n.), there is no room for doubt. *non* (*haud*) *ambigitur*, though not common (again in T. at 11.4.2 [see Malloch] and *H.* 3.23.2), is something of a set phrase (e.g. Liv. 10.5.14 'tradidere quidam . . . ; id unum non ambigitur'). Cf. 4.65 'scriptores in eo dissentiunt; cetera non ambigua sunt'.

29–30 Domestic affairs

The 'continuous slaughter' by which the domestic narrative is headlined (29.1) turns out to be somewhat misleading (see also Walker 83–4). The section comprises two pairs of cases. In the former (29), which also features in Dio

(58.24.3–5), two husband-and-wife teams commit suicide, although in the first case (29.1–2) the *princeps* says that he had intended merely a *renuntiatio amicitiae*. In the latter (30), which is not in Dio, it is the accusers themselves who are punished (by banishment, not by death), and in the second of the cases (30.2–4) T. is more interested in the defendant's remarkable survival (see above, p. 205).

29.1 At Romae caede continua The phoenix 'symbolizes change, renewal, and perpetuation' (Syme, *Tac.* 771–2; see e.g. van den Broek 113–14); according to T., however, 'aucun changement n'intervient et la vie à Rome demeure immuable, rhythmée par l'inexorable succession des meurtres' (O. Devillers, *L'art de la persuasion dans les* Annales *de Tacite* (1994) 59–60). *caedes continua* is a striking and unparalleled phrase (but note 14.362 'caedem . . . continuarent'). For *At Romae* see 3.22.1n.

Pomponius Labeo, quem . . . rettuli At 4.47.1. The actual governor of Moesia was Poppaeus Sabinus (5.10.2n.), but there was also a succession of deputies of praetorian rank, such as Labeo. Little more is known about him: *RE* 21.2340 = Pomponius 51 (Hanslik), *PIR* 6.320–1 no. 726, *BNP* 11.580 [Pomponius II 12]. For cross-references see 6.4.1n. (*ut rettuli*).

abruptas uenas T. seems to have taken this expr., which he likes (again at 15.59.5, 15.63.3, 16.9.2), from Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.3 (metaphorical); but for suicide by opening veins he has various other verbs such as *abscindere*, *exsoluere*, *resoluere*, *interrumpere* (Furneaux p. 71, Sörbom 35).

aemulataque est coniunx Paxaea Another case where a husband was joined by his wife in committing pre-emptive suicide was that of Calvisius Sabinus in 39 (Dio 59.18.4); for cases of *uxoria pietas* see below, 4n. (*hortante*). The name Paxaea (again at *CIL* 3.8696 'Paxea Elpis', 14.3933 'Pacxea Zoe') is evidently the feminine form of the *nomen* Paxaeus (as *CIL* 10.2834 'A. Paxeus Atticus'): both forms together at *CIL* 6.36058 'A. Paxaea A. liberta . . . A. Paxaeo Philoxeno et A. Paxaeo Rufo' (see W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* (1904) 214).

carnificis See 5.9.2n. (*a carnifice*).

et . . . pretium festinandi The double *quia*-clause is varied and chiastic (*publicatis bonis* ~ *manebant testamenta*, *sepultura prohibebantur* ~ *humabantur corpora*); the main clause (sc. *erat*) revisits the speed with which the sentence began (*pretium festinandi* ~ *promptas . . . mortes*). A similar statement is made by Dio, at greater length, under AD 31 (58.15.1–16.2). The accounts of both authors were challenged by R. S. Rogers, 'Ignorance of the law in Tacitus and Dio', *TAPA* 64 (1933) 18–27, but defended by C. W. Chilton, 'The Roman law of treason under the early principate', *JRS* 45 (1955) 73–81. For the prohibition on burial see further 23.1n. (*an*). *manere* is being used in a technical legal sense (*OLD* 8c).

29.2 *m*orem fuisse *m*aioribus Both alliteration and sentiment are typical of the Tacitean Tib. (see *Ann.* 3, pp. 512–13, Index 3 s.v. 'Tiberius'). Though *renuntiatio amicitiae* is used by moderns as a technical expr., it does not appear in extant Latin texts; on the other hand, *amicitiam renuntiare* is found at 2.70.2, in two episodes of Livy (36.3.8, 36.3.10; 42.25.1, 42.25.12), at *SCPP* 29 (see Eck et al. 155 and n. 406), and then in Suet. *Cal.* 3.3 and Fronto p. 223.7 vdH^2. Here the unique and typically Tacitean variant *dirimere amicitias* stands alongside the technical *interdicere domo* (3.12.2n.), which in turn initiates a chiasmus with the following *eumque . . . ponere*. In general see R. S. Rogers, 'The emperor's displeasure – *amicitiam renuntiare*', *TAPA* 90 (1959) 224–37 (232–3 and 235 for the present case). For Tib.'s letters see above, pp. 95–6.

id se repetiuisse in Labeone '*that* was the satisfaction he had demanded in the case of Labeo' (*OLD repeto* 8–9), i.e. as opposed to the greater punishment which Labeo had inflicted on himself; for comparable imperial statements see 2.31.1–3, 3.50.2 and 51.1–2, 14.49.2, 15.35.3. Slightly different is the case of D. Silanus in 20, who had misinterpreted his removal from the emperor's friendship as a decree of exile (3.24.3–4 'non ultra foret saeuitum quam ut amicitia Caesaris prohiberetur').

quia . . . urgebatur Although it seems not to be found in this construction elsewhere, *urgeo* is used sufficiently often in the quasi-technical sense of 'accuse' (*OLD* 8c) that the gen. of the charge seems an easy extension of normal idiom (cf. K–S 1.464).

culpam inuidia uelauisse Tib., himself the arch-dissembler (4.71.3), had made the same complaint when Cn. Piso had committed suicide in mid-trial (3.16.2 'suam inuidiam tali morte quaesitam'; cf. 12.8.1 'Silanus mortem sibi consciuit . . . augendam ad inuidiam'). Associations of *culpa* and *inuidia* (again at *H.* 4.41.3) are above all Ciceronian (*Clu.* 5 [quoted by Quint. 9.3.85], 83, *Rab. Perd.* 2, *Flacc.* fr. 15 Cus.), but cf. also Ov. *Her.* 7.105–6; for *culpam . . . uelauisse* cf. Ov. *Her.* 5.131.

periculi . . . expertem Cf. Cic. *Fam.* 4.14.4, Nep. *Att.* 2.1, Liv. 1.25.2.

29.3 Mamercus dein Scaurus rursum postulatur The previous occasion was AD 32 (6.9.3 and n.). For the interposition of *dein* see 3.56.2n.

insignis nobilitate et orandis causis, uita probrosus T.'s narrative bears out the first half of this chiastic epitaph rather than the second. Scaurus first featured in the so-called accession debate, where his intervention prompted a reference to Tib.'s hostility towards him (1.13.4); after a brief mention at 3.23.2, he is described in 21, the year of his suffect consulship, as 'oratorum ea aetate uberrimus' (3.31.4). He is most on display as the joint prosecutor of C. Silanus in the following year, where his volley of *antiqua*

exempla is turned against him: 'proauum suum . . . Mamercus infami opera dehonestabat' (3.66.1–2 and nn.). Ironically Scaurus' victim on that occasion was implicitly described in the same terms as the man himself here: 'uita probrosus' (3.69.1). For an extended description of Scaurus as an orator see Sen. *Contr.* 10 *pr.* 2–3; for the scandalous story involving Annius Pollio (6.9.3n.) cf. Sen. *Ben.* 4.31.3–5.

Nihil hunc amicitia Seiani Since T. omits verbs regularly elsewhere (e.g. 4.12.4), one could simply understand e.g. 'destroyed'; but more probably we are to understand *labefecit* from the co-ordinated sentence, an example of 'gapping' (3.3.3n.).

labefecit haud minus ualidum ad exitia Macronis odium Unlike Cicero, who greatly preferred *labefactare* to *labefacere* (50:3), T.'s preference is the converse (1:6): see *TLL* 7.2.764.14–15. The precise image, however, is uncertain. Since we are about to be told that Macro operated by stealth, *labefecit* perhaps refers to sapping by means of a mine, in which case *ualidum* will mean 'effective for ~ '. But, if we think that *ualidum* must mean 'powerful for ~ ', then the image is perhaps that of a battering-ram. Both images occur together at Sen. *Const. Sap.* 6.4 'munimenta incussu arietis labefieri et turrium altitudinem cuniculis ac latentibus fossis repente desidere'; see also 4.60.2 and n. For the abstract subject cf. Cic. *Sest.* 101 'quem numquam . . . ulla inuidia labefecit'. For *ualidus ad* see 6.8.2n. (*ut*); the plur. *exitia*, first at Plaut. *Bacch.* 1093 and relatively rare elsewhere (though favoured by the younger Sen.), is used by T. only here and serves to generalise.

qui easdem artes occultius exercebat Macro's superiority to Sejanus in the same skills had recently been proved by his role in the latter's downfall (Dio 58.9.2–6). Another such expert was the *princeps* himself (cf. 4.1.2 'isdem artibus'; see R. Renehan, 'A proverbial expression in Tacitus', *CP* 68 (1973) 114–15), and it is of course typical of the tyrant to be surrounded by men like himself (see n. ad loc., *Agr.* 41.1n., adding Dio 57.19.7 τῆς τῶν τρόπων ὁμοιότητος). For *occultius exercere* cf. 5.4.3 and n.

detuleratque argumentum tragoediae . . . scriptae The most likely meaning of this sentence is 'he had denounced the plot of a tragedy written by Scaurus' (as *D.* 2.1 'in eo tragoediae argumento', where the context is similar); but it could also mean 'and he had submitted evidence consisting of a tragedy . . . ' (although no ex. of a defining gen. is listed in *TLL* 2.544.35ff.). Suetonius tells us that a poet (unnamed, but generally assumed to be Scaurus) was charged 'quod in tragoedia Agamemnonem probris lacessisset', even though the play had been recited in the presence of Augustus and had caused no offence (*Tib.* 61.3), a point similar to that made by Cremutius Cordus in his famous speech (4.34.5).

additis uersibus qui in Tiberium flecterentur Ruperti implies that Scaurus himself had added these verses and that the reference is to the evidently proverbial Euripidean maxim which, according to Dio (see below), Scaurus had incorporated into his play (Eur. *Phoen.* 393; cf. Cic. *Att.* 2.25.1). But, if Suetonius' story about an unnamed poet (*Tib.* 61.3) relates to the same episode, Scaurus' play must have been unchanged from the time it was recited to Augustus (see last n.). The 'subject' of *additis* is almost certainly Macro, adding to his denunciation the relevant lines of the play as supporting evidence. According to Dio (58.24.3–4) the tragedy was an *Atreus* (see the ref. to Leigh cited above, p. 149 n. 62), in which one of the characters was advised – κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην – to endure the senselessness of the current ruler: μαθὼν οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Τιβέριος ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τε τὸ ἔπος εἰρῆσθαι ἔφη, Ἀτρεὺς εἶναι διὰ τὴν μιαιφονίαν προσποιησάμενος, καὶ ὑπειπὼν ὅτι "καὶ ἐγὼ οὖν Αἴαντ' αὐτὸν ποιήσω". The status of the subjunctive *flecterentur* is uncertain (purpose or potential?) and nicely illustrates the point at issue: did Scaurus intend the double meaning or did his audience read a double meaning into the lines? As the opening of the *Dialogus* makes clear (last n.), this was very much a live issue in the early empire.[93] Quintilian praises the virtue of *emphasis*, in which a writer deliberately suggests more than he says (8.3.83), and discusses *controuersiae figuratae*, in which a speaker relies on *emphasis* because of fear (9.2.64ff.). Phaedrus seeks to pre-empt readers who read into his fables more than they should (3 *pr.* 45–7), and T. at 4.33.4 says that you will always find readers of historiography who think that the misdeeds of others are being targeted at themselves. See in general Lausberg 407–9 (§§905–6), concluding: 'This whole complex of phenomena is . . . of importance for the formation of dialogue in drama.' The precise meaning of *flectere* ('adapt to', 'interpret against') is hard to settle: the former seems preferred in *OLD* 8b and *TLL* 6.1.895.75–9, each quoting also Apul. *Apol.* 22 'flexis ad hoc Homericis uersibus'.

29.4 Verum . . . obiectabantur Of the chiastically arranged charges, Dio (58.24.5) agrees about adultery with Livi(ll)a, who had now been dead for three years (6.2.1n. *quasi*), but does not mention the second. *magorum sacra* is the same charge as had been brought against Libo Drusus in AD 16 (2.27.2 and n.).[94] From the single names of the prosecutors it appears that they were

[93] There is of course a vast modern bibliography on this subject, e.g. F. M. Ahl, 'The art of safe criticism in Greece and Rome', *AJP* 105 (1984) 174–208, W. J. Dominik, J. Garthwaite and P. A. Roche (edd.), *Writing politics in imperial Rome* (2009). Nor is the political interpretation of drama restricted to the empire (see e.g. Cic. *Att.* 2.19.3 for a famous case).

[94] The author of the most recent study (A. Pettinger, *The Republic in danger: Drusus Libo and the succession of Tiberius* (2012)) is more interested in the wider context of the episode and has almost nothing to say about *magorum sacra.*

introduced in the part of the *Annals* which is now lost; neither of them is otherwise known, but, since the elder Seneca says that Scaurus was accused by a historian called Tuscus (*Suas.* 2.22), that is likely to have been the cognomen of one of them.

ut dignum ueteribus Aemiliis Thus redeeming the disgrace he had brought upon his ancestors in 22 (3.66.2 'opprobrium maiorum'). For the notion that a disgraceful life is redeemed by a noble death see Vell. 87.1n.; for the distinction of the Aemilii see 27.4n. (*neque*). Mamercus was the last of the Scauri (Sen. *Suas.* 2.22).

hortante Sextia, quae . . . particeps fuit For Sextia see Syme, *TST* 68. Examples of or references to *uxoria pietas* in the form of suicide will be found at e.g. 15.63.1–2, Prop. 3.13.15–22 (cf. Val. Max. 2.6.14; W. Heckel and J. C. Yardley, 'Roman writers and the Indian practice of suttee', *Philol.* 125 (1981) 305–11), Vell. 26.3, 88.3 (= Val. Max. 4.6.5, Plut. *Brut.* 53.4–5), Sen. *Contr.* 2.2.1, 2.2.11, 2.5.8, 10.3.2, Philo, *Leg.* 61, Plin. *Ep.* 3.16 (= Dio 60.16.6), 6.24, Plut. *De Garr.* 508b, App. *BC* 4.4.23 (cf. 21), Dio 59.10.6, 59.18.4. Before this year the most recent examples had been the wives of Fufius Geminus (5.2.2n., 6.14.1n.) and Sejanus (6.2.1n.). See further Gibson on Ov. *AA* 3.21–2, W. on Vell. 87.1; Grisé 74. For the *coniunctio* of *mortis* see 6.15.3n. (*deuiis*).

30.1 si facultas incideret The subjunctive is generalising, = 'whenever the occasion arose' (*NLS* §196). The insertion of *ipsi* before *si* would emphasise the reversal still further: 'And yet accusers themselves were visited with punishment'. Cf. *ultro* at 2 below.

a Vario Ligure In AD 25 he had been accused of adultery and condemned by the same Gaetulicus as is mentioned below (4.42.3); he was probably the son of a praetorian prefect under Augustus (for whom see Syme, *AA* 301).

omittendae delationis For the construction see 3.7.1n.

in insulas . . . demoti sunt If *amouere* = 'banish' is 'peculiarly Tacitean' (1.53.4n.), *demouere* is even more recherché in this sense, since it seems to occur nowhere else. The cases of Servilius and Cornelius should be added to the discussion and list of Drogula 233–43 and 264–6.

30.2 Abudius Ruso Almost nothing is known beyond what T. tells us (Syme, *RP* 6.213–14), but his presumed father, a centurion, appears on an inscribed vessel (Augustan) in the Nijmegen museum (*AE* 1956.170).

dum Lentulo Gaetulico . . . periculum facessit Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus, *ordinarius* with his brother-in-law in 26 (4.46.1), was brother of the consul of 25; their father, consul in 1 BC, had celebrated a victory over the Gaetulians in AD 6 (Dio 55.28.3–5, Flor. 2.31): hence the cognomen. An

author of Greek and Latin verse (D. L. Page, *Further Greek epigrams* (1981) 49ff., Courtney, *FLP* 345–6), and perhaps also of history (cf. Suet. *Cal.* 8.1), Gaetulicus was later killed under Caligula (see below). See *RE* 4.1384–6 = Cornelius 220 (Skutsch), *PIR* 2.338–40 no. 1390, *BNP* 3.833 [Cornelius II 29]; Eck, *Statthalter* 10–12; *AA* 481 (index) and Table XXI; S. J. V. Malloch, 'Gaius' persecution of the *nobiles*', *Athenaeum* 97 (2009) 501–5; Champlin (2012) 377. *periculum facessere* (again at 1.74.2, *H.* 4.43.1) is Ciceronian (*Caec.* 45).

quod is Seiani filium generum destinasset We know neither which son of Sejanus was involved (5.8.1n. *Aelii*, 5.9.1n. *Placitum*) nor anything about Gaetulicus' daughter. Syme oddly gets the betrothal the wrong way round (*AA* 310; correct at 179, 424).

ultro underlines the reversal (*OLD* 4): not only was the accuser himself condemned and banished but his fate was determined while his accusation was in progress ('dum . . . facessit').

ea tempestate . . . legiones curabat 'This application of *curare* to military command is peculiarly Sallustian' (1.31.2n.); Dio under AD 39 (59.22.5) says that Gaetulicus had held the German command for ten years. The four legions on the Upper Rhine were II Augusta, XIII Gemina, XIV Gemina and XVI Gallica (cf. 1.37.3), and the potential threat of the German legions reverberates through the *Annals* (e.g. 5.10.2n. *pergere*): see further below. For *ea tempestate* see 1.3.6n.

mirumque amorem adsecutus erat Dio gives this as the reason for Gaetulicus' execution by Caligula in 39 (59.22.5), although the *Acta Fratrum Arualium* for 27 October of that year record a plot against the *princeps* (*CIL* 6.2029 = Smallwood 9.19, p. 14: 'ob detecta nefaria con[silia in C. Germani]cum Cn. Lentuli Gaet[ulici]'). See Syme, *AA* 179–80, Barrett, *Caligula* 101–6; Hurley on Suet. *Calig.* 24.3, *Claud.* 9.1. *amorem adsequi* seems strangely unparalleled.

effusae clementiae, modicus seueritatis To those earlier commentators who were exercised by the apparent pleonasm of these phrases Walther explained: 'the description is of a man in whom mercy and severity are joined, i.e. who at the right time shows himself either merciful or severe, but in such a way that there is almost no limit to his mercy, while there is an impassable limit in the case of his severity – less severe than merciful and yet no stranger to every severity.' Martin nevertheless finds Gaetulicus 'excessive in the first quality, and deficient in the second'; and it is certainly true that T. appears to sympathise with the brutal severity of Corbulo later (13.35.4 'remedium seueritate quaesitum . . . usu salubre'). For severity as a quality prized in Roman generals see S. E. Phang, *Roman military service: ideologies of discipline in the late Republic and early Principate* (2008) 111–15. T.'s two phrases exhibit the common *uariatio*

of gen. ~ adj. (Sörbom 88) and generate a chiasmus with *et proximo . . . non ingratus* below (ABABBA).

proximo . . . exercitui There were four legions in Germania Inferior (1.31.3): I Germanica, V Alaudae, XXI Rapax, XX Valeria Victrix.

per L. Apronium socerum He had been *suffectus* in AD 8 and is recorded as commanding the army of Lower Germany in 28 (4.73.1): see 1.56.1n., 3.21.1n., Malloch on 11.19.1; *BNP* 1.911 [Apronius II 1]; Eck, *Statthalter* 112–13. Another daughter of his had been defenestrated by her husband, M. Plautius Silvanus, in 24 (4.22.1).

30.3 fama constans ausum mittere . . . litteras Gaetulicus' arguments are similar to those of M. Terentius at 6.8.1–6, who is similarly 'bold' (6.8.1 *ausus est*), and of the anonymous at 5.6.2–3; but his high-handed tone is quite different from both. For discussion of the rumour see I. Shatzman, 'Tacitean rumours', *Latomus* 33 (1974) 558–60; for *fama constans* cf. H. on *H.* 1.66.2.

haud sponte sed consilio Tiberii The same point as made by Marcius Hortalus at 2.37.2: 'hos . . . non sponte sustuli sed quia princeps monebat'.

sine fraude 'with impunity': legal phraseology (*TLL* 6.1.1267.50ff., *OLD fraus* 2).

fidem integram . . . mansuram The same expr. at 11.6.1, *H.* 1.71.2. *fides integra* (again at *H.* 3.41.2) is otherwise only at Quint. 5.7.2; *f. manet* (cf. e.g. *H.* 1.30.2, Mela 2.13, Manil. 1.729, *Oct.* 351–2, Stat. *Theb.* 2.393, [Quint.] *Decl.* 338.15) seems to be a choice alternative to the common *in fide manere.*

successorem . . . accepturum This seems to be an ill-disguised threat: if there is an attempt to remove him from his post, he will interpret it as a sign that he should kill himself – and he *will* kill himself, bringing upon the *princeps* opprobrium and (given the threat represented by the German legions) worse. Various forms of death-threat are part of colloquial speech and not intended to be taken seriously (J. B. Hofmann, *Lateinische Umgangssprache* (³1951) 31 §39); but this is not the case with Gaetulicus, whose words are carefully chosen to play upon Tib.'s current state of mind (4 below). Indeed Tib. himself had used the analogous method of attempted suicide when wanting to get his own way in the matter of retirement to Rhodes (Suet. *Tib.* 10.2; cf. Sen. *Brev. Vit.* 20.3 for the similar case of Turranius); for some other suicide threats, albeit in the private not political sphere, see van Hooff 155. For *indicium mortis* cf. Cic. *Brut.* 277, *Clu.* 188, Ov. *Met.* 10.417–18, Cels. 2.6.36, 2.6.38.

firmarent . . . foedus It is of course 'amazing' (*mira*, below) that anyone should address the *princeps* with a proposal such as the following, but Gaetulicus not only had the support of his soldiers but has been described as having

qualities similar to those of Tib. (*clementia* and *moderatio*: see 2 above).[95] *firmare foedus* is originally a Virgilian phrase (*Aen.* 11.330, 12.212), taken over by Sil. 16.168 before T.; later at Amm. 17.14.1, 26.4.6, Auson. pp. 679–80G.

quo princeps cetera rerum poteretur, ipse prouinciam retineret In 1978 it was argued by D. Krömer that the transmitted *ceterarum* should be deleted on the grounds that *rerum potiri* is a set phrase, as at 5.1.4 above, and is not qualified by an adjective anywhere else in classical Latin apart from Aug. *RG* 34.1 'per consensum uniuersorum [potitus reru]m om[n]ium', which R. Kassel proposed to emend by reading *potens*, thus generating an expr. found in various other authors including T. himself (*H.* 4.84.5 'rerum omnium potentem'; *TLL* 10.2.285.65ff.): see 'Textkritisches zu Augustus und Tiberius: Res gestae c. 34 – Tac. ann. 6,30,3', *ZPE* 28 (1978) 127–44; cf. 'Grammatik contra Lexikon: *rerum potiri*', *Gymn.* 85 (1978) 239–58. Early in the twenty-first century it was discovered that a new fragment of the Antioch version of the *Res Gestae* does indeed read *potens* (see Scheid ad loc. and p. ccxxi), leaving our passage as the sole anomaly before Eutrop. 9.20.3 'rerum Romanarum potitus'. While Krömer's deletion of *ceterarum* would solve this problem, it seems to me more likely that T. wrote *cetera* and that this was either assimilated into the same case as *rerum* or (perhaps even more likely) was given the same ending through anticipation. *cetera* is adverbial ('the princeps should be in charge of affairs in other respects'); for its combination with a finite verb cf. 4.16.3 'qua . . . cetera promisco feminarum iure ageret', 6.15.1 'cetera equestri familia erat'; *TLL* 3.973.38–61. (There seems to be no clear basis on which to establish whether T. wrote *poteretur* or *potiretur*. Both forms are transmitted, sometimes – as on this occasion – simultaneously.)

30.4 Haec mira, quamquam fidem ex eo trahebant quod . . . This is the punctuation of Bach (supplying *erant* or *uidebantur* as the main verb). Most edd. write *haec, mira quamquam, fidem ex eo trahebant quod . . .*, but (a) this produces a much harsher example of *quamquam* in anastrophe than those at 5.9.1 (n.) and 14.21.4, (b) T. favours elliptical sentences involving *haec*, as at 28.6 just above ('haec incerta et fabulosis aucta'), 15.52.2 'haec in commune', 16.30.2 'uetera haec', *H.* 3.19.1 'haec in medio, pulchra dictu'. The antithesis between *mira* and *fides* is of the kind one meets in *Wundererzählungen*, e.g. Mela 1.32 'interius et longe satis a litore, si fidem res capit, mirum ad modum spinae piscium muricum ostrearumque fragmenta', Plin. *NH* 31.21 'quod si quis fide carere ex his aliqua arbitratur, discat in nulla parte naturae maiora esse miracula'.

reputante Tiberio . . . res suas Normally *mihi odium est* means 'I hate', but here, as at 2.2.4 'odium prauis et honestis', the dat. stands for an

[95] I owe this point to Peter Moench.

objective gen. or a prepositional phrase ('*Pro* adversum se', says Doederlein), and the meaning must be 'the public's hatred of him'. *reputante*, used by T. as an archaising equivalent of *cogitante* (3.12.3n.), is thus followed by two direct objects and an acc. + infin., a common *uariatio* (12.1n. *quem*) which in this case exhibits 'theme and variation': i.e. *publicum . . . odium* ~ *fama*, *extremam aetatem* ~ *ui*. According to Suetonius, Tib. was content to be hated on account of his reputation for cruelty, provided people approved of him (*Tib*. 59.2 'oderint dum probent'); if Gaetulicus and the German legions stopped approving of him, he was now too old to do anything about it. For *publicum . . . odium* cf. 4.36.3, *H*. 1.72.2, Cic. *Vat*. 39, *Ep. Brut*. 1.15.9, Liv. 26.39.15, Sen. *Ben*. 3.17.1.

magisque fama quam ui stare res suas The name of Vesta, symbol of eternity at Rome (W. on Vell. 131.1), was sometimes derived from the expr. *ui stare* (see Ov. *Fast*. 6.299 'ui stando Vesta uocatur'; Maltby 640–1), but the allusion seems rather to Flamininus' jibe before Cynoscephalae (Liv. 33.8.5 'fama stetisse, non uiribus, Macedoniae regnum; eam quoque famam tandem euanuisse'), except that, instead of the plur. 'forces', the sing. *ui* suggests 'reality', a usage of which T. is fond (48.2n. *cum*; G–G 1784a). Perhaps T.'s readers were also intended to remember Flamininus' remark in the sequel. See also Hardie 294–5.

31–39 THE YEAR AD 35

Three years earlier, as T. reported (14.2), the obscure Rubrius Fabatus was accused of finding circumstances at Rome so desperate that he attempted to flee to the Parthians ('tamquam desperatis rebus Romanis Parthorum ad misericordiam fugeret'). In the present year T. not only takes his readers on a narrative journey to Parthia (31–7) but extends the visit to two years to provide some relief from afflictions at Rome (38.1 'quae duabus aestatibus gesta coniunxi quo requiesceret animus a domesticis malis').[96] Hence, while the domestic narrative of 32 was preceded by a brief 'foreign' account of Campania and Capri (1), and while that of 34 was preceded by a similarly brief account of the Egyptian phoenix (28), this is the first time in Book 6 that a narrative year has opened with an elaborate account of genuinely foreign affairs, to be followed by a much briefer section (38–9) on events in Rome.

31–37 Parthia and Armenia

Parthia occupied an unusual position in the Romans' view of their world: it was the only nation they regarded as an actual or potential equal. This was true for Strabo (11.9.2 ἀντίπαλοι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τρόπον τινὰ γεγόνασι κατὰ

[96] The years in question are presumably 34 and 35, since T. returns to the Parthian narrative in 36 (41.2–44.5).

μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς) and Velleius (101.2 'imperiorum . . . capita') in Tiberius' reign,[97] it was true for the elder Pliny in mid-century (*NH* 5.88 'duo imperia summa Romanorum Parthorumque'), and it was true for T. (2.56.1 'maximis . . . imperiis', 2.60.4 'ui Parthorum aut potentia Romana').[98] T. had already opened Book 2 with a brief but brilliant narrative of Parthian affairs (1–4), and he would return to the subject at repeated intervals throughout the *Annals* (2.56–60, 6.41–4, 11.8–10,[99] 12.10–14, 12.44–51, 13.6–9, 13.39–41, 14.23–6, 15.1–18, 15.24–31).[100]

The present trouble had started when the Parthian king, Artabanus, installed his son, Arsaces, on the throne of Armenia – a country which lay between the Roman and Parthian spheres of influence and which, as T. has already told us, was often an object of contention (2.56.1).[101] The king made no secret that he had further territorial ambitions, and he was also treating his own subjects to a regime of cruelty (31.1). Disillusioned by this, a secret delegation of Parthian nobles arrived in Rome to suggest to Tib. that he might want to see someone else on the Parthian throne, and they offered the name of Phraates, who was actually living in Rome as one of the tokens of friendship between the two peoples (31.2). Tib. agreed and gave the nobles practical and financial support; but Phraates unfortunately died on the journey back to his homeland (32.1–2). Undaunted, Tib. replaced Phraates with his relative, Tiridates, and in addition chose Mithridates – brother of Pharasmanes, king of Iberia – to recover Armenia; and, to oversee the totality of affairs in the east, he appointed L. Vitellius, the consul of the previous year, as governor of Syria with its four legions (31.3).

[97] For the former see Pothecary 422–3; for the latter see W. ad loc.

[98] But note the sceptical comment of Syme, *Anatolica* 334: 'One paradoxical truth, not palatable to the vulgar, not always understood by the historians of Rome, ancient or modern, was evident to some at least of the emperors: not only was Parthia not a menace – it was perhaps to Rome's interest that there should be some stability in Parthia' (cf. 366).

[99] Malloch's introduction to this section constitutes an exceptionally helpful discussion of the whole subject.

[100] Given the global significance of Parthia and T.'s evident interest in the topic, it is notable that none of his Parthian narratives betrays the slightest hint of Rome's relations with Parthia during Trajan's reign. In 112/13 T. was governor of Asia, the province which lay strategically on the route between Rome and the east; early in 114 Trajan advanced into Armenia and in 115/16 clashed with Parthia in a war for which he was awarded the title 'Parthicus' and coins bore the legend *Parthia Capta*. This was just the period during which T. was writing the *Annals*, and one might have expected some reference to contemporary Roman involvement. See *CCT* 40–1.

[101] On Artabanus at this period see Olbrycht, with extensive bibliography.

With the help of his brother, Mithridates enjoyed immediate success: Arsaces was killed, and Artaxata, the capital of Armenia, was taken (33.1). But these events prompted retaliation from Artabanus, who charged another son, Orodes, with re-capturing Armenia; in response Pharasmanes assembled the Albani and Sarmatians as allies to his Iberians and endeavoured to provoke Orodes into fighting (33.2–34.1). His tactics eventually worked and, when the battle took place, Pharasmanes succeeded in wounding Orodes, whereupon the false report of the latter's death persuaded the Parthians to concede the victory (34.3–35.2). Artabanus, furious at this second reverse, threw all the resources of his kingdom against the enemy; but Vitellius let it be known that he was about to invade neighbouring Mesopotamia, and, now that there was a threat of war with Rome and his own disaffected subjects were becoming bolder in their opposition, Artabanus fled to Scythia (36). The departure of Artabanus left the way clear for Tiridates to assume control of Parthia, as planned, and Vitellius returned to Syria with his mission accomplished (37).

In the famous programmatic digression in Book 4, T. singled out great wars, defeated kings, changeable battles, foreign places and slaughtered leaders as the kinds of topic which grip the readers of history (4.32.1, 4.33.3). When Parthia and Rome clashed in AD 162, fifty years after T. was writing the *Annals*, historians immediately rushed to write accounts of the confrontation (Lucian, *Hist. Conscr.* 2, 14ff.), and Fronto was given instructions by the emperor, Lucius Verus, on how he should shape his narrative to portray Verus himself in the best possible light (pp. 108–9 vdH[2]):

unam rem uolo non quidem demonstrare discipulus magistro, sed existimandam dare. circa causas et initia belli diu commoraberis, et etiam ea quae nobis absentibus male gesta sunt. tarde ad nostra uenies. porro necessarium puto, quanto ante meum aduentum superiores Parthi fuerint, dilucere, ut quantum nos egerimus appareat. an igitur debeas, quo modo πεντηκονταετίαν Θουκυδίδης explicuit, illa omnia corripere, an uero paulo altius dicere, nec tamen ita ut mox nostra dispandere, ipse dispicies. in summa meae res gestae tantae sunt quantae sunt scilicet, quoiquoi modi sunt; tantae autem uidebuntur quantas tu eas uideri uoles.[102]

There was a key difference, however, between the fighting in 162–6 and that described by T., since in the latter Rome played no direct part in the hostilities. Indeed the whole purpose of the episode was that Roman arms should be kept at a distance and that a diplomatic solution should emerge after the various forces had fought things out between themselves (32.1). Rome's position on the sidelines naturally posed a challenge for the historian who wished to retain his

[102] At the end of this extract Verus is alluding to Cato, F126C (see *FRH* ad loc.).

readers' interest,[103] yet it nevertheless underlines the compelling nature of the reason which led T. to provide the narrative in the first place: although Rome took no part in the conflict, domestic affairs were such that he nevertheless considered it worthwhile to take his readers on an extended trip to the exotic east.

In fact T. seems to have gone out of his way to make his narrative as exotic as possible. There is a remarkable concentration of words, meanings or constructions which are unique, very rare or generally unusual: *aequabilis* of persons (31.1), *iacio* for *iacto* (31.1), the noun *cupitum* (32.1), the verb *inardescere* (32.1), *insuescere* + dat. (32.2), *adulatorius* (32.3), *perpello* + infin. (33.1), *sceptuchus* (33.2), *genticus* (33.2), *incessus* (33.3), *breuia* (33.3), *infensare* (34.1), *rumorem subdere* (36.1), *rumor* + *tamquam* (36.1), *occultus* + gen. (36.2), *custos* + dat. (36.3), *minister* + dat. (36.3), *innecto* of relationships (36.4), *aequus* + gen. (36.4), *mobilis* + dat. (36.4), *auxiliator* (37.3), *inglorius* (37.3). These linguistic oddities are complemented by the quite exceptional care which T. has devoted to the arrangement of words, phrases and clauses: chiastic and parallel ordering is to be found throughout, with the one often superimposed upon the other.

Similar care has gone into the arrangement of the episode as a whole, which T. has designed as 'an artfully structured drama in three parts'.[104] (a) Three paragraphs of introduction (31–2) describe the diplomatic exchanges between Rome and Parthia which constitute the background to the conflict and which end with the appointment of L. Vitellius. (b) The conflict itself takes up the central section (33–5) and is likewise divided into three: the initial moves and assembling of allies (33) are followed by provocation and pre-battle speeches (34–35.1) and finally by the actual battle (35.1–2). (c) In the last section (36–7), where three paragraphs mirror those of the introduction, the Parthian attempt to renew the conflict is immediately stifled by Vitellius, who successfully completes the diplomatic arrangements which were outlined at the very start. In addition, each of the three sections has inserted into it two digressive passages of varying length, position, and subject: (a) earlier Parthian history (31.1) and the character of L. Vitellius (32.4); (b) winter currents in the Caspian Sea (33.3: very brief) and the legendary origins of the Iberians and Albanians (34.2); (c) interpretation of an omen (37.2) and an associate of Tib. from the old days (37.3).

[103] T. does his best to accentuate the differences between the two sides and to enlist his readers' sympathy against the Parthian ruling power: this is one of the major themes in Ash's helpful analysis (esp. 119–25).

[104] F. Kühnert, 'Der Orientbericht Tacitus Ann. VI 31–37', *WZ Jena* 22 (1973) 491–6, repr. in his *Kleine Schriften* (ed. V. Riedel, 1994) 169–75. Note also Walser 144ff.

In so elevated a narrative it is no surprise that there are reminiscences of the *Aeneid* (see nn. on 32.1, 35.2, 36.4) or places where the language is more generally poetical (see nn. on 32.3, 33.3, 34.2, 37.2, 37.3) or where the scene seems 'epic' in nature (33.3, 37.2); and there is the expected deployment of Sallustian and Livian language and expressions (see nn. on 32.1, 32.3, 33.2, 34.2, 34.3, 35.1, 36.1, 36.2, 36.3, 36.4, 37.3, 38.1). Indeed the allusions to the fourth book of Sallust's *Histories* (35.1n., 37.3n.; cf. 33.2n.), where Lucullus' campaigns in Armenia against Mithridates were described, are such that one may suspect a case of 'substantive imitation'.[105] Certainly there is a striking contrast between the length and detail of T.'s narrative on the one hand and the extreme brevity of Dio's account of exactly the same events on the other (58.26.1–4). At the end, as we saw, T. justifies his lengthy treatment by reference to the wretched state of affairs at Rome (38.1), but the political significance of the Parthian episode is another matter: Tiridates' almost immediate removal will allow Artabanus to return in the following year (41.2–44.5).

31–2 Preliminaries

31.1 C. Cestio M. Seruilio consulibus For the former see 6.7.2n. The latter is the historian M. Servilius Nonianus, 'quem consulem uidimus' (Plin. *NH* 37.81); his obituary will be provided in AD 59 (14.19 'Seruilius diu foro, mox tradendis rebus Romanis celebris et elegantia uitae, quam clariorem effecit, ut par ingenio, ita morum diuersus'). See *RE* 2A.1802 = Servilius 69 (Klotz), *PIR* 7.2.230–1 no. 590, *BNP* 13.332 [Servilius II 4]; Rüpke 891 no. 3068; *FRH* 1.522–4; Syme, *TST* 91–109.

nobiles Parthi in urbem uenere So too Dio 58.26.2. The similarity to the start of the earlier Parthian/Armenian episode (2.2.1 'uenere in urbem legati a primoribus Parthis') underlines the cyclical nature of Parthia's relations with Rome; on this see Gowing, esp. 322.

rege Artabano Artabanus II (2.3.1n., where he is designated by the old-style III): see Olbrycht.

Is metu Germanici fidus Romanis, aequabilis in suos The reference to Germanicus looks back to AD 18 at 2.58 (suggesting that there was no significant treatment of eastern affairs in the lost part of Book 5); the flash-back thus introduced continues to *minas iaciebat* below, at which point *sed* is used, as often (G–G 1454b), to resume the main narrative. T.'s paired and varied phraseology is in parallel (ABAB) down to *sumpsit*, then chiastic + parallel (ABBAAB) from *fretus bellis* down to *auidusque Armeniae*: this elaborate and

[105] For this see *Tac. Rev.* 13–16, 70–85, 234–6. Unfortunately the loss of so much Sallust makes the case impossible to prove.

careful arrangement sets the pattern for the whole eastern narrative. *fidus* and *aequabilis* are not coupled elsewhere, but note Cic. *De Or.* 2.345 'erit explicandum in laude iustitiae quid cum fide, quid cum aequabilitate . . . is qui laudabitur fecerit'. On *fidus/fidelis* see 3.46.4n.; *aequabilis* of persons (again at *H.* 4.5.2) is a Tacitean peculiarity.

mox *su*perbiam *in* nos, *s*aeuitiam *in* populares *su*mpsit *mox* presumably alludes to the period after Germanicus' death. The two archetypal vices of the tyrant (Plin. *NH* 7.110 'Dionysius tyrannus . . . saeuitiae superbiaeque natus': see 19.3n. *quantumque* and 13.2n. *silentium*) are coupled by T. almost exclusively (6×); elsewhere only at Suet. *Cal.* 34.1, Flor. 2.30.31 (=4.12.31). The only previous ex. of *superbiam sumere* appears to be the famous Hor. *C.* 3.30.14, where the meaning is disputed (see N–R ad loc.); *saeuitiam sumere* seems unparalleled altogether. For T.'s use of *nos* = 'Romans', here varying *Romanis* above as *populares* varies *suos* (Sörbom 14), see Malloch on 11.19.1.

quae . . . exercuerat For speculation about these wars see Olbrycht 216; for the expr. cf. 12.32.2, Sen. *Brev. Vit.* 7.1, Sil. 13.740–1.

senectutem Tiberii ut inermem despiciens 'scorning the elderly Tiberius as unwarlike': *senectutem despicere* is regular enough (cf. Apul. *Met.* 7.27.4 'senectam infirmitatemque meam contemnit ac despicit'), but the unusual transference of *inermem* is facilitated by the fact that *senectutem Tiberii* is equivalent to *senem Tiberium*; for the common idiom of abstract noun + gen., as Virg. *Aen.* 12.934 'Dauni miserere senectae', see *Agr.* 21.2n. Although the *princeps* has been represented as concerned about his age both publicly (2.43.1 'suam aetatem uergere', 4.8.3) and privately (30.4 above), Artabanus' scorn will prove quite unjustified; it is as if he has based his diagnosis on evidence as misleading as that found in Suet. *Tib.* 41. For T.'s use of *senectus/senecta* see 3.23.1n.; for *inermis/inermus* see 1.6.1n.

defuncto rege Artaxia For Artaxias III, otherwise known as Zeno, see 2.56.2–3 and nn.; he is thought to have died *c.* AD 34 (Olbrycht 217).

Arsacen Nothing else is known of him apart from his death (33.1 below). Dio has Artabanus additionally making an attempt on Cappadocia (58.26.1).

addita contumelia This is generally presumed to be a reference to the letter which the king is said to have sent to Tib. (Suet. *Tib.* 66 'quin et Artabani Parthorum regis laceratus est [sc. Tiberius] litteris parricidia et caedes et ignauiam et luxuriam obicientis monentisque ut uoluntaria morte maximo iustissimoque ciuium odio quam primum satis faceret'). Draeger–Heraeus, however, understand the phrase as being explained by *et missis qui . . . reposcerent* (with *et* epexegetic).

gazam a Vonone relictam in Syria Ciliciaque Vonones, a previous king of Parthia who had been ousted (2.1.1–4.3 and nn.), was moved by the Romans from Syria to Cilicia at Artabanus' request in AD 18 (2.58.1–2). He was killed in the following year (2.68.2). At 2.58.2, as at *SCPP* 45, reference is made to the gifts which Vonones was able to bestow. T.'s use of 'the Iranian term *gaza*' scarcely testifies to his 'good knowledge of the realia' (Olbrycht 217 n. 11): this oriental word for 'treasure' (Maltby 254) had long since been domiciled in Latin and was regularly used by Latin authors of oriental riches.

possessa Cyro et post Alexandro M reads *icyro*: Baiter interpreted the first letter as an abbreviation of *primum*, Ritter as an error for *a*. The latter seems implausible: Artabanus is clearly aiming at the kind of grandiloquent phrase used by Hor. *C.* 3.29.27–8 'regnata Cyro | Bactra' (a dative described as 'Grecizing' by N–H on 2.6.11). *primum* might be thought appropriate to a foreign list (cf. 28.3 'Sesoside primum, post Amaside dominantibus'), but the abbreviation is not found in MSS earlier than the 14th century (Cappelli 168–9). Most edd. ignore the *i*, inferring from the subscript dot that it is a mistake, and I have concluded reluctantly that they are right. See also Olbrycht 217–18.

per uaniloquentiam ac minas iaciebat The verb, followed by a direct object + acc. and infin. as at 15.50.1, is here used as the equivalent of *iactabat*: construction and meaning are alike unusual. For *per uaniloquentiam* see 3.49.1n.

31.2 Sed . . . Sinnaces A 'member of the wealthy Sūrēn clan' (Olbrycht 220). *sed* returns us to the main narrative, as often (G–G 1454b), after the digressive *is metu . . . minas iaciebat*.

ademptae uirilitatis Despite its etymology, *spado* (which T. uses 6×) denoted both natural and castrated eunuchs (Ulp. *Dig.* 50.16.128 'Spadonum generalis appellatio est: quo nomine tam hi qui natura spadones sunt, item thlibiae thlasiae'): since Roman law distinguished between the two types (Ulp. *Dig.* 23.3.39.1 'Si spadoni mulier nupserit, distinguendum arbitror, castratus fuerit necne'), T.'s characteristic periphrasis makes it clear to which type Abdus belonged (cf. Colum. 6.26.3 'adempta omni uirilitate', of a bullock).

aut = *et aliis*.

Phraaten . . . Roma poscebant It is a curious fact that T. alone constructs verbs of asking/demanding with abl. *Roma*, and only in the context of foreign peoples: 2.1.1 'petitum Roma acceptumque regem', 11.16.1 'Cheruscorum gens regem Roma petiuit', 12.14.1 'barbaros malle Roma petere reges quam habere'. The constr. is defined as 'abl. of place whence' in *OLD* (*posco* 1a): if this is correct, the verbs are being used in some kind of extended sense ('to ask to remove ~ from Rome'). The desired replacement was a son of Phraates IV (on whom see 2.1.2n.) and brother of Vonones.

For the simple verb after the compound *reposcerent* (31.1 above) see 3.29.1n., adding e.g. 2.47.4~48.1, 2.52.3, 3.6.3~7.2, 11.31.1–2, 12.9.2, 12.57.1–2, 14.15.2, 14.34.2.

nomine tantum et auctore opus, ut sponte Caesaris [ut] genus Arsacis ripam apud Euphratis cerneretur 'the only requirements were a name and an authority, in order that by the will of Caesar the family of Arsaces be seen on the bank of the Euphrates.' The *nomen* is that of Phraates, the *auctor* is Tib.: both are then re-presented chiastically in a purpose clause, the point of which is that, if the Romans hand over Phraates and the *princeps* gives his blessing, the *nobiles Parthi* will do the rest, i.e. whatever fighting is necessary to ensure the desired result of an Arsacid on the Parthian throne. In fact, as T. has already told us (2.3.1), Artabanus was himself descended from Arsaces I, the third-century BC founder of the Parthian dynasty, but later in the campaign his descent will be derided as inadequate (6.42.3 'materna origine Arsaciden, cetera degenerem'): *genus Arsacis* here is thus pointed.

M offers a repetition of *ut*, which some scholars retain. Anaphora of *ut* is appropriate to a speech, but the other exs. in T. are not quite parallel since their anaphora itemises identical forms: see 2.31.1 (two infinitives), 2.70.1 (two acc. nouns), *H.* 3.66.4 (three acc. nouns). Here, on the other hand, we have an abl. and a nomin., so the anaphora does not 'work'. Other scholars change the first *ut* to *et*, but this is impossible because *sponte* + gen. is an adverbial expression, which therefore cannot be parallel to *nomine* and *auctore*. The only option is to delete one or other *ut*, and deletion of the first *ut* would deprive us of the desired chiasmus (above).

The concluding words of the *ut*-clause are perhaps intended to remind Tib. of the previous occasion when Rome and Parthia eyed each other on the banks of the Euphrates: that was in AD 18, when his adopted son Germanicus met with the same Artabanus whose removal is now planned (2.58.1 'daturumque honori Germanici ut ripam Euphratis accederet'). But the *princeps* perhaps also recalled the meeting that had taken place between Gaius Caesar and Phraataces in AD 1/2, of which an eyewitness account had recently been published by his former soldier, Velleius Paterculus (101.1–2): 'cum rege Parthorum, iuuene †excelsissimae insulae† quam amnis Euphrates ambiebat, aequato utriusque partis numero coiit. quod spectaculum stantis ex diuerso hinc Romani, illinc Parthorum exercitus, cum duo inter se eminentissima imperiorum et hominum coirent capita, perquam clarum et memorabile . . . mihi uisere contigit'. This is the kind of satisfying spectacle which *cerneretur* invites one to imagine, and indeed the present episode will eventually end with just such a meeting in mid-Euphrates between Vitellius and Artabanus (Jos. *AJ* 18.101–2; see 44.5n. *donec*).

apud in various meanings is one of T.'s favourite prepositions, usually placed in the 'regular' order as found at 15.16.4 'apud ripam Euphratis'; but T. is of course very fond of anastrophe (1.60.3n.), and, for the order as found here, compare 4.5.1 'Misenum apud et Rauennam', 4.43.4 'montem apud Erycum'.

32.1 accingitque paternum ad fastigium *paternum*, emphatically placed (5.1.3n. *Sanctitate*), perhaps suggests focalisation by Tib., exhorting the proposed new ruler to remember that he was a son of Phraates IV (last n.); for *paternum . . . fastigium* (the unique *patrium . . . fastigium* is used in a similar context at 11.10.4) cf. Vell. 116.4, Curt. 3.13.12. The verb suggests military resources but not, of course, Roman troops (next n.). Compare the send-off of Italicus to Germany by Claudius in AD 47 (11.16.1): 'Caesar auctum pecunia, additis stipatoribus, hortatur gentile decus magno animo capessere'.

consiliis et astu res externas moliri, arma procul habere This is the same policy as outlined at 2.26.3 'se . . . plura consilio quam ui perfecisse' and 2.64.1–2 'laetiore Tiberio quia pacem sapientia firmauerat quam si bellum per acies confecisset. igitur . . . Thraeciae regem astu adgreditur' (see W. Orth, *Die Provinzialpolitik des Tiberius* (1970) 28; also M. Grant, *Aspects of the principate of Tiberius* (1950) 77–83, on the Tiberian cult of *pax*): Artabanus proves right in his assumptions (*arma procul* ~ 31.1 *inermem*) but has omitted from his calculations the Roman policy of 'divide and rule'; the natives will be left to fight it out themselves. *consiliis et astu* is recognised as being an allusion to Virg. *Aen.* 11.704 'consilio uersare dolos ingressus et astu', where it is said of a leading Ligurian, a race famous for its dissembling (see Horsfall on 701); the same two nouns are juxtaposed at Sil. 12.494, where, however, each belongs to a different clause. For a discussion of the two terms as part of technical military language see Wheeler 119 index s.vv.

moliri must mean 'to manage', though the verb is more normally used in pejorative contexts; the infin., like *habere*, depends upon the verbal aspect of *destinata* (a favourite noun of T.'s). *arma procul* is a common combination, esp. in hexameter verse. The ABAB order is varied immediately by the chiasmus below.

tardari *m*etu, *m*odo cupid*in*e u*in*dictae *in*ardescere** The first colon of this chiasmus is again from Virgil (*Aen.* 11.21 'segnisue metu sententia tardet'), who is also echoed by Ov. *Her.* 17.184 'nescioquo tardor sed tamen ipsa metu'. *cupiditate ardere* is a regular phrase (e.g. Sen. *Contr.* 9.1.6 'ardet cupiditate uindictae animus'); *cupidine ardere* is rare (only Ov. *F.* 6.575, Fronto p. 250.3 vdH[2]); *cupidine inardescere* quite unparalleled (the verb is extremely uncommon). For the suppression of *modo* with *tardari metu* see *OLD modo*[1] 6b.

statim exsequi regium uidetur For the constr. cf. Liv. 29.31.12 'uix regium uidebatur latronem uagum . . . consectari'.

32.2 Valuit tamen utilitas The assonantal (almost anagrammatic) phrase is Ciceronian (*Verr.* 5.22, *Off.* 3.40, 3.109).

lento ueneno inligaret A slow poison was the method chosen for Claudius (12.66.1) and was thought by some to have been administered to Tib. himself by Caligula (Suet. *Tib.* 73.2 'uenenum . . . datum lentum atque tabificum'). *inligare* implies paralysis.

Sinnacen dissimulatione . . . moraretur This is the third and final reference to slowness (after *cunctatio* and *lento*): esp. given the presence of *dissimulatione*, the implication is that Tib. is being played at his own game (29.3n. *qui*; cf. 10.2n. *sua*). The sentence exhibits chiastic alliteration (*Si- d- d- si-*) and assonance ('dis *simul*atione' ~ '*simul*').

dum . . . instituta *Part*horum sumit, *patr*iis *mor*ibus im*par mor*bo absumptus est Phraates' failure to adapt to local conditions resembles that of his brother earlier (2.2.3–4 'diuersus a maiorum institutis'), and the maladjustment of other despatched rulers, often voiced by locals, becomes a Tacitean theme: e.g. 43.3 'imbellem externa mollitia', 11.16.3 'infectum . . . omnibus externis', 12.14.3 'alienigenam et Romanum', 14.26.1 'usque ad seruilem patientiam demissus'; Gowing 315–22. In the present case T. does not specify what Phraates' *morbus* was, but he perhaps imagined that it concerned diet, since the ancients believed that death could result from food which one could not assimilate (see Grimm 45). T.'s anagrammatic expression is here almost Lucretian: the syllabic elements symbolise the process being described (see e.g. D. Armstrong, 'The impossibility of metathesis: Philodemus and Lucretius on form and content in poetry', in D. Obbink (ed.), *Philodemus and poetry* (1995) 225). *dum* has a causal force (3.19.2n.); for the resumption of a simple verb by its compound see Sörbom 42 (further refs. in Courtney on Cato, *Agr.* 156.1). *insuescere* + dat. (again at 34.2, 11.3.2, 11.29.3) occurs otherwise only at Col. 6.37.8; T. uses the verb (7×) more than any other extant author.

32.3 omisit incepta An originally Sallustian phrase (*J.* 93.1) taken over by Livy (3×) and used again by T. at 1.19.1 and *H.* 4.19.3.

Tiridaten A grandson of Phraates IV (*RE* 6A.1440–1 = Tiridates 5 (Geyer), *PIR* 8.1.70–1 no. 237, *BNP* 14.723 [Tiridates 4]), so living in Rome as a nephew of the recently deceased Phraates. He features only in the present episodes in Book 6.

reciperandae . . . Armeniae The status of Armenia was unresolved when T. left the story at 2.4.3. His language here recalls, perhaps ironically, the Augustan coins which proclaimed *Armenia Recepta* (*RIC* 1.63 no. 45).

Mithridaten The story of the king, who soon succeeds in acquiring the rulership of Armenia (33.1 below), resumes in Book 11 (see Malloch on 11.8–10 (pp. 125–6), 11.8.1 and 11.9.1–3) and concludes in Book 12 (44–7), where, in AD 51, he is cynically killed by his nephew Radamistus on the orders of the brother to whom he is here about to be reconciled (next n.).

Pharasmani This formidable king of Iberia will also reappear in Books 11 (8.1 with Malloch ad loc.) and 12 (44–8); almost his last act in the *Annals* (13.37.3) is to kill his son, Radamistus, whom he had earlier ordered to kill his brother (last n.). Iberia is roughly equivalent to mod. Georgia: see Braund, who discusses both brothers on pp. 219–24 (and see the map on p. 160).

gentile A largely poetic adj.: see 3.59.3n.

L. Vitellium See 28.1n.

32.4 haud sum ignarus For the defensive tone see 6.7.5n. (*Neque*).

sinistram . . . famam . . . prisca uirtute 'Even though there be extant no phrase of Sallust for attestation, the colouring alone will often suffice' (Syme, *Tac.* 356, on this passage); yet *sinistra fama* (again at 11.19.3, *H.* 1.51.5) is otherwise an exclusively poetical expr. (Ov. *Am.* 3.14.11, Sil. 12.62, Juv. 14.1), while *prisca uirtute*, astonishingly, is elsewhere only at Gratt. *Cyn.* 323–4 'ergo illi ex habitu uirtutisque indole priscae | imposuere orbi Romam caput'.

regendis prouinciis Otto inserted *in*. While it is true that 'the immediate proximity here of another abl. makes it the less probable that this one stood without a preposition' (Furneaux), the abl. is so like many others in the *Annals* (Platner 472) that it seems rash to alter the text. Pfitzner's suggestion of a dat., implausible in itself, does not help matters since it is indistinguishable in form from the abl.

regressus He was recalled by Caligula in 40 (Dio 59.27.4). T. 'generally eschews anticipatory notices, letting significant names speak for themselves' (Syme, *RP* 2.807), but for two other exs. see Claudius at 3.18.4 and P. Suillius at 4.31.3: 'quem uidit sequens aetas praepotentem, uenalem et Claudii principis amicitia diu prospere, numquam bene usum'. See also 48.3n. (*documento*).

exemplar . . . adulatorii dedecoris Vitellius, 'the archetype of all flatterers' (Syme, *Tac.* 342), was described by Suetonius as a man 'miri in adulando ingenii' (*Vit.* 2.5), giving exs. from his relations with both Caligula and Claudius. Cf. Dio 59.27.6 πάντας . . . τοὺς ἄλλους κολακείᾳ ὑπερεβάλετο. *adulatorius* does not recur in Latin until Arnobius.

cesseruntque *p*rima *p*ostremis et bona iuuentae senectus flagitiosa obliterauit This premature epitaph combines chiastic syntax

(ABC ~ CBA) with parallel chronology (*prima postremis* ~ *iuuentae senectus*). For the topoi that the past is eclipsed by the more recent and that evil is more memorable than good see 6.8.5n. (*ne*); contrast Ov. *Her.* 9.23–4 'coepisti melius quam desinis; ultima primis | cedunt' (Deianira to Hercules).

33–5 Warfare

33.1 ex regulis prior That is, of the two princes mentioned at 32.3, Mithridates acted before Tiridates.

perpulit dolo et ui conatus suos iuuare *dolus* and *uis* are standard alternatives: the former includes bribery, dissimulation and deception, the latter includes armies, war-machines and conscription (see the lists in *Rhet. Herenn.* 3.3 under these headings; Wheeler 59). In our passage the *dolus* is the bribery of Arsaces' attendants to murder him (the upcoming *–que* is epexegetical), the *uis* is the invasion of Armenia. Many years later Pharasmanes will choose *dolus* over *uis* to remove his brother from the kingdom of which he is about to seize possession (12.44.4 'uim differendam et potiorem dolum'). See also e.g. Liv. 25.22.14 'Hannibal ab Herdonea Tarentum duxerat legiones spe aut ui aut dolo arcis Tarentinae potiundae'. *perpello* + infin. is first in T., who likes it (G–G 1110a), but it does not recur until late Latin (e.g. Symm. *Epist.* 1.1.1).

scelus Arsaces' murder, presumed to be by poison.

Artaxata The capital city of Armenia (2.56.3n., 13.39.6), on the banks of the Araxes (mod. Aras). See *BA* Map 89: G1.

33.2 filium Oroden See *RE* 18.1142–3 = Orodes 3 (Lenschau), *PIR* 5.463–4 no. 152, *BNP* 10.237 [Orodes 4].

Parthorum **que copias M has a space after *parthorum* and juxtaposes *que* with *copias*: it therefore seems that *Parthorum* was followed, rather than (as most scholars believe) preceded, by the name of another people in the genitive. We should after all expect the Parthians to come first, since Artabanus was their king. Various names have been proposed to fill the gap: Heraeus' <*Medorum*>*que* is defended by the reference to Medes at 34.3 below, but Furneaux noted that there the name seems used as a synonym for Parthians. Olbrycht suggests that the Parthians recruited the Aorsi and Sirachi from north of the Caucasus (222).

qui auxilia mercede facerent Seneca in a famous letter tells us that the historian L. Arruntius, the consul of 22 BC, was a 'Sallustianus' and that, because Sallust had written 'exercitum argento fecit', he used *facere* in bizarre expressions on every page (*Ep.* 114.17). The Sallustian fragment, otherwise

unattested, is now *H.* 1.27 in Maurenbrecher's edition, *Incert.* 1 in Ramsey's and *Incert.* 5 in McGushin's; but, given T.'s later allusions to the fourth book of Sallust's *Histories* (35.1n. *modo*, 37.3n. *campis*), and given that the subject there is the Armenian operations of Lucullus around Artaxata, the fragment should perhaps be placed in Book 4. Whatever the truth, the Sallustian use of *facere* is clearly imitated by T. here. Arruntius' son was the consul of AD 6, who will commit suicide at 47.2–48.3 below.

Albanos The Albani lived between the mid-Caspian to the east and the Caucasus, Armenia and Iberia to the west (*BA* Map 88). See 2.68.1n.

Sarmatas The collective name for Iranian nomadic tribes including the Alani, Aorsi, Iazyges and Rhoxolani. Living originally east of the mod. R. Don, they gradually moved westwards, and in the first half of the first century AD the Iazyges migrated to the Hungarian plain. See *BA* Maps 84–5; *BNP* 6.694, 12.998–1000.

sceptuchi . . . diuersa induere The transliteration of the Greek σκηπτοῦχος (Xen. *Anab.* 1.6.11, *Cyr.* 8.1.38, Strabo 11.2.13) to describe the Sarmatian officials occurs only here in Latin. *more gentico*, which qualifies *diuersa induere*, is T.'s bizarre variant on the regular *more gentis* (again at 3.43.2: see n.); the adj. recurs only at Amm. 24.4.23 'ex usu moris gentici'. And, though *induo* is one of his favourite verbs (G–G 626b), *diuersa induere* is extremely odd (but cf. 12.40.2 'hostilia induerat'): *TLL* suggests that the meaning is 'diuersas partes secuti sunt' (7.1.1264.19); perhaps rather 'assumed opposing attitudes'. (*TLL* also understands *induere* as perf. indic.; but, after *adiungere* and *accire*, it is not easy to see why.)

33.3 Caspia uia No other text mentions this name, which is perhaps a typically Tacitean variant for some more regular form; but the strong likelihood is that, despite his year in Asia (whose coastline is roughly 1,500 miles from the Caspian), T. did not really know what he was referring to.[106] Scholars assume that the reference is to the 'Caspiae Portae', a name frequently mentioned in ancient sources – and by Josephus of this same episode (*AJ* 18.97 τὰς θύρας τὰς Κασπίας) – but confusingly applied to more than one route. In the case of the route to which T. is most probably referring, the elder Pliny regards the name as a misnomer for 'Caucasiae Portae' (*NH* 6.30), which no other classical author uses. This gorge is in turn identified with the mod. Darial Pass, which is indeed nowhere near the Caspian Sea but right in the middle of the Caucasus (*BA* Map 88: C2. See 2.1257). T. evidently calls the same pass the 'claustra Caspiarum' at *H.* 1.6.2. See further Braund 351 and 356, index

[106] For various ancient attempts at gauging the distance between the Black Sea and the Caspian see Plin. *NH* 6.31.

'Caspian Gates' and 'passes' (there is a map of the various passes on p. 44); Syme, *Anatolica* 39–45, esp. 42 and 44–5; and *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 7.13.

Sarmatam The collective singular 'seems to have been both archaic and colloquial, and is consequently affected by the historians (except Sallust) and avoided by Cicero (except in his letters) . . . It is particularly common in military contexts, where it is convenient to think of a mass rather than a collection of individuals. A refusal to individualize is especially useful when thinking of enemies' (N–H on Hor. *C.* 1.19.12).

raptim effundunt Cf. Sil. 14.119–20 'totam per proxima raptim | armorum effundit flammato pectore pestem'.

incessus 'approaches' (concrete), 'means of access', a unique sense in classical Latin (*TLL* 7.1.892.48–9). See also 3.74.1n.

unum reliquum . . . aestas impediret The description of the one remaining approach as 'between the sea and the edge of the Albanian mountains' suggests a reference to another 'Caspiae Portae', this one in the mod. region of Derbent on the western coast of the Caspian (*BA* Map 88: G2): 'here lies the easiest land-route from north to south through the main Caucasus, because it does not cross the mountains, but rather skirts around them along the narrow Caspian coastline' (*BA* 2.1256–7). *aestas*, already used metonymically in an anemological context at 4.67.2 (n.), must here be used in a similarly extended sense = 'summer weather conditions'. For *impediret* cf. Calp. Sic. 2.74 'nec bruma nec impedit aestas'; whether T.'s expr. has been deployed in the controversy over Calpurnius' date I do not know.

quia flatibus etesiarum implentur uada 'The greatest obstacle here was not the mountains but the sea, for strong southerly winds can whip it up to inundate much of the land. The phenomenon is well recorded in modern times, and Romans were evidently aware of it too' (*BA* 2.1257, quoting our passage). The etesian winds, for which T. prefers the poetical *flatus*, were summer winds (from ἔτος, 'yearly'), blowing during July and August: they are frequently mentioned by classical authors (e.g. Cic. *Arat.* fr. 24 'hoc motu radiantis etesiae in uada ponti'), largely because of their impact upon sea travel (cf. *H.* 2.98.2 'mare quoque etesiarum flatu in orientem nauigantibus secundum, inde aduersum erat').[107] The earliest reference is in Herodotus, who discounts

[107] There seems no doubt that the Caspian floods are caused by a southerly wind (*Encyclopaedia Iranica* 5.48), whereas the etesian winds are normally described as blowing in the Mediterranean from the north-west; but the name came to be extended 'to cover seasonal winds in other seas and from other quarters' (Pease on Cic. *ND* 2.131), and Housman (on Luc. 7.871) noted that *Noti* at 10.500 means *etesiae*.

the theory that the etesian winds cause the Nile to flood, his grounds being that other rivers would be affected likewise (2.20). See too N–H on Hor. *C.* 2.9.2; also next n.

hibernus auster reuoluit fluctus pulsoque introrsus freto breuia litorum nudantur Despite the disclaimer issued at *Agr.* 10.6 'naturam Oceani atque aestus neque quaerere huius operis est', the behaviour of winds, sea and tides is discussed relatively lengthily in that passage, and the same is true here: the present sentence is strictly irrelevant to T.'s main narrative, but its information is regarded as of intrinsic interest. The various winds and their names (including the etesian) are treated to a substantial discussion at e.g. Gell. 2.22, while the question 'quae sit Oceani natura' was a common rhetorical debating-point (Quint. 7.4.2). One aspect of the latter was whether 'internal' seas were in fact great 'breathing holes' (*spiramenta*) for the Ocean (Sen. *Suas.* 1.4), and that this hypothesis could be applied to the Caspian is clear from Curtius (6.4.19) and the elder Pliny (*NH* 2.168). Curtius' account of the Caspian ('a septentrione ingens in litus mare incumbit longeque agit fluctus et magna parte exaestuans stagnat. idem alio caeli statu recipit in se fretum eodemque impetu quo effusum est relabens terram naturae suae reddit') indeed describes the same phenomenon as that in T., whose language, however, seems derived directly from Sen. *Prov.* 1.4 'si quis obseruauerit *nudari litora* pelago in se recedente eademque intra exiguum tempus operiri, credet caeca quadam uolutatione modo contrahi undas et *introrsum* agi, modo erumpere et magno cursu repetere sedem suam' (Zimmermann 62).

introrsum does not of course mean 'inland' but 'in on itself'. *breuia litorum* does not mean 'coastal shallows', as Martin says and other commentators imply; though *TLL* agrees (2.2181.18–19), the alleged parallel at 1.70.2 is misleading: Goodyear excluded our passage from his note ad loc., no doubt because *nudantur* is inconsistent with 'coastal shallows'. The expr. means 'narrow shores' (like Stat. *Theb.* 7.267 'breue litus Hyles'): T. has simply used a neut. plur. adj. as a noun and coupled it with a gen., as often (3.1.3n.); though admittedly there seems no parallel for *breuia* so used in this sense, the usage simply joins other solecisms or rarities in this section of narrative. For further discussion of *litora* and its possible meanings see N–H on Hor. *C.* 2.18.21.

reuoluo is often used of tides and the like, e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 10.660 'reuoluta per aequora', Colum. 8.17.1 'fluctum reuoluit', Sen. *Ag.* 488–9 'uento resistit aestus, et uentus retro | aestum reuoluit'; for *hibernus auster* cf. Tib. 1.1.47, Colum. 11.2.74.

34.1 *au*ctus *au*xilio The contrast with Orodes' deficiency is pointed by the (varied) chiasmus and etymological (and almost self-reflexive) assonance (see Maltby 70): for the latter (again at 4.23.1, *H.* 3.25.1) see e.g. Cic. *Fam.* 10.8.4, *Bell. Afr.* 34.6, Liv. 1.30.6. The present chiasmus is followed by another

(*uocare . . . incessere*), which in turn is followed by two expressions in parallel (*adequitare . . . pabula*).

adequitare castris The tactic (again at 2.13.2) is typical of, but not exclusive to, barbarians: see e.g. Flor. 2.20.4 'unus ex clade Crassiana Parthico habitu castris adequitat'; the verb is relatively uncommon: 18 exs. in classical Latin, eight of them in Livy (*TLL* 1.632.70ff.).

infensare pabula Frontinus has a variety of suggestions 'per quae hostes ad inopiam redigantur' (*Strat.* 3.4) and 'de uitiatione aquarum' (3.7). A regular expr. for this process is *frumentum corrumpere* (Caes. Liv.), but T. has used a verb exclusive to himself. It is generally thought that *infensare* here means 'he attacked', as at 13.37.1 'bello infestare Armeniam'; but, since the semantic fields of *infestus* and T.'s preferred *infensus* (3.15.2n.) are very similar, and since *infestare* can mean 'to damage, impair' (*OLD* 3), perhaps that is the meaning of *infensare* here. See also Liv. 31.30.3 'sata exuri' and Briscoe ad loc.

<in> modum obsidii stationibus cingebat Although it was in the nature of siege warfare to surround an enemy establishment with outposts and strongholds (as Caesar describes his siege of Dyrrachium at *BC* 3.43ff.), *statio* is more normally used of positions placed outside by the occupants than by the besiegers (see Oakley on Liv. 8.8.1 *Addendum*); but for an ex. of T.'s usage (again at 14.8.2) cf. Front. *Strat.* 2.6.7 'omnibus portis statione circumdatis inclusos hostes in eam rabiem efferauit'. In general on *stationes* see now J. France and J. Nelis-Clément (edd.), *La statio: Archéologie d'un lieu de pouvoir dans l'empire romain* (2014). For T.'s use of *obsidium/obsidio* see 3.39.1n.

donec Parthi . . . *p*oscerent *p*roelium Since the purpose of Pharasmanes' actions had been to provoke Orodes into fighting, the subjunctive here is not (*contra* Martin) equivalent to an indicative (so too at Front. *Strat.* 1.11.1 'donec milites probris hostium coacti pugnam deposcerent'). The parallel expressions *circumsisterent . . . proelium* balance those at *adequitare . . . pabula* above (cf. Chausserie-Laprée 633).

34.2 saltuosos locos incolentes duritiae patientiaeque magis insueuere A classic example of the ancient belief in environmental determinism (summary discussion in e.g. R. F. Thomas, *Lands and peoples in Roman poetry: the ethnographical tradition* (1982) 1–7). *saltuosa loca* is neuter in Sallust (*J.* 38.1, 54.3) and Livy (27.12.8), masc. here and at 4.45.1; it occurs nowhere else. For *duritiae patientiaeque* cf. Cic. *De Or.* 3.62.

Feruntque se Thessalis ortos, qua tempestate Iaso . . . Thus begins a short mythological digression, after which the main narrative resumes, as often (G–G 167a), with *ceterum* at 3 below. The digression starts with native legend ('ferunt . . . ortos': *OLD fero* 32) but may emerge from

reported discourse with *qua tempestate . . . repetiuit* (as T. retains the indic. in subordinate clauses in *or. obl.*, it is hard to be sure). The converse happens in the somewhat similar passage at 2.60.1–2, where the narrative continues with *qua tempestate Menelaus . . . deiectus* but then switches to reported speech with *quem indigenae ortum . . . perhibent*. On the transmission of 'native tradition' see Marincola 283–4.

Thucydides' self-confessed exclusion of mythical material, which he thought would make his work seem less pleasurable (1.22.4), did not prevent him from including passages which involve myth, such as the so-called *Sikelika* (6.2–5: see Hornblower's nn.). This ambivalent attitude characterises much classical historiography (see Marincola 117–27) and is well represented in practice by the circumspect Xenophon at *Anab.* 6.2.1–2 ἔνθα ἡ Ἀργὼ λέγεται ὁρμίσασθαι . . . ἔνθα λέγεται ὁ Ἡρακλῆς . . . and in theory by a brilliant passage of Livy's preface (6–7). Mythical material was regarded as particularly suitable for digressions (Plb. 38.6.1 with Walbank's n.), which themselves were regarded as opportunities for readerly pleasure (28.1n. *praebuitque*). T.'s motivation for the present digression is unclear, but an older contemporary (and perhaps fellow *quindecimuir*) was Valerius Flaccus, whose Argonautic epic, with which T. was certainly familiar (*CCT* 37), had popularised the story of Jason and made it available for political interpretation (see T. Stover, *Epic and empire in Vespasianic Rome* (2012)).

qua tempestate Iaso . . . Colchos repetiuit The story of Jason is told, with variations from T.'s version, also by the epitomator Justin (cf. 42.2.12 'Colchos repetiuit') as part of his pre-history of Armenia, adding that all of the region claimed Jason as their founder (42.3.5 'Iasoni totus ferme Oriens ut conditori diuinos honores templaque constituit').[108] See also next n. Cicero says of *qua tempestate* that it is one of those archaisms or poeticisms which make a speech 'grandior atque antiquior' (*De Or.* 3.153); T. uses it to introduce matters of myth, legend or ancient history again at 2.60.1, 12.62 and *H.* 5.2.1; the text at 4.14.1 is perhaps not certain.

Multaque de nomine eius et oraclum Phrixi celebrant; nec quisquam ariete sacrificauerit 'and they honour many things derived from his name and an oracle of Phrixus; nor would anyone sacrifice with a ram.' The use of *de nomine* in derivations and the like (*OLD de* 5a) recurs at 1.15.2, where it is described by G. as 'somewhat poetical': this is perhaps an understatement (see e.g. J. J. O'Hara, *True names: Vergil and the Alexandrian tradition of etymological wordplay* (1996) 73ff.), although he is right to note

[108] The association of T. and Justin raises the question of T.'s relationship with Trogus, on which see D. S. Levene, *AHC* 294–311.

that it 'is already found in Sallust' (cf. *H.* 2.87D = 2.74.8R). Strabo refers to 'Jasonian monuments' in the region (11.4.8 Λέγεται δ' Ἰάσονα μετὰ Ἀρμένου τοῦ Θετταλοῦ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν τὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς Κόλχους ὁρμῆσαι μέχρι τῆς Κασπίας θαλάττης, καὶ τήν τε Ἰβηρίαν καὶ τὴν Ἀλβανίαν ἐπελθεῖν καὶ πολλὰ τῆς Ἀρμενίας καὶ τῆς Μηδίας, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ τά τε Ἰασόνια καὶ ἄλλα ὑπομνήματα πλείω) and, in the border territory of Colchis and Iberia, to a temple and oracle of Phrixus where no ram is offered in sacrifice (11.2.17 ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῶν λεχθέντων ποταμῶν . . . ἱερὸν Φρίξου ἵδρυμα, καὶ μαντεῖον ἐκείνου, ὅπου κριὸς οὐ θύεται). The perf. potential subjunctive *sacrificauerit* describes an 'ideal certainty' (for this definition cf. Carmody 37). The sacrifice of rams was banned for similar reasons in Egyptian Thebes, according to Hdt. 2.42.

credito uexisse Phrixum, siue id animal seu nauis insigne fuit Rationalisation of myth was a standard technique (28.6n. *Haec*), as was the offering of natural and supernatural alternatives (Marincola 124): for rationalisation applied to the Argonauts see J. S. Rusten, *Dionysius Scytobrachion* (1982) 93ff.; for this particular example see Diod. 4.47.4 τῆς ὁμοίας δὲ μυθολογίας ἔχεσθαι καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ Φρίξου λεγόμενα. διαπλεῦσαι γὰρ αὐτόν φασιν οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ νεὼς προτομὴν ἐπὶ τῆς πρώρας ἐχούσης κριοῦ. *credito* presumably agrees with *ariete* (so G–G 234b) and constitutes an ex. of 'verbal hyperbaton' (3.1.1n.), but conceivably, as Koestermann prefers, it could be a typically Tacitean one-word abl. abs., like the otherwise unique 3.14.3 (n.).

34.3 Ceterum derecta utrimque acie Though T. has had the time to expatiate on hydrology and myth, he fails to tell us where the confrontation took place but leaves readers to infer 'an unspecified location somewhere in Armenia' (Ash 118). *derigere aciem* is a technical expr. (Vell. 95.2n.); *ceterum* returns us, as often (G–G 167a), to the main narrative after the digressive *feruntque . . . insigne fuit.*

Parthus . . . disserebat For pre-battle *hortationes* see 3.45.2n. and *Agr.* 30–4nn.

mercennario milite The expr. is common in the plur. but the variation of the collective singular is twice in Livy (5.4.8, 24.49.8) and once in Curtius (5.1.41). Word order perhaps suggests that T.'s expr. is abl. of description ('the ignoble Iberian with his hired soldiery') rather than cause ('ignoble because of ~'). Orodes' jibe reads ironically, given that he himself had been equipped with mercenaries by his father (33.2).

integros . . . a Parthico dominatu A similar point is made by Calgacus before Mons Graupius (*Agr.* 31.4 'nos integri et indomiti'). T. normally prefers *dominatio* (35:1), as do Sallust (21:0), Livy (13:2) and Val. Max. (16:0); Cicero, who comes to prefer the converse (35:50), is followed in his preference by Caesar (0:2). See the fuller statistics in *TLL* 5.1.1878 (table).

plus decoris . . . aut . . . flagitii atque periculi The more regular contrast is between *decus* and *flagitium* alone (*H.* 2.12.3, 4.60.1, Cic. *Leg.* 1.62, [Sall.] *Ep. Caes.* 1.8.1), but to the latter the speaker has added *periculum* (for various combinations of these two, again at 11.12.2, cf. Liv. 2.43.8, 44.4.7, Plin. *Ep.* 1.5.5, Apul. *Met.* 7.21.1, Calp. Flacc. 52): it was a topos that the brave were in less danger than cowards (e.g. *Agr.* 33.5 'decorum . . . periculosissima'; and *Agr.* 30.1n. *ita proelium*). The chiasmus is further varied by *uictores* ~ *si terga darent* (Sörbom 117). For the omission of *tanto* see 17.3n. (*quanto*).

horridam . . . aciem The adj. suggests both bristling weapons and old-fashioned virtue: see esp. Liv. 9.40.4–5 'horridum militem esse debere, non caelatum auro . . . ; illa praedam uerius quam arma esse', a passage by which Ruperti thinks T. was influenced; his actual expr., however, is taken from Virg. *Aen.* 10.408, where it is used of a wall of flame.

picta auro Medorum agmina *Medorum* is used for variety after *Parthico* and doubtless too for contempt: compare the satiric picture drawn by Sen. *Apoc.* 12.3 (12) 'pictaque Medi terga fugacis'. We are told that the Parthian military in the fourth century AD would dress in gold like Persians to make it seem that they were resuming the empire that was theirs from of old (Jul. *Or.* 2.63a–b ἀναλαβεῖν . . . τὴν ἐξ ἀρχαίου βασιλείαν προσήκουσαν). See also Ash 120 and nn. 26–7. For the expr. cf. Val. Fl. 3.340 'dat pictas auro atque ardentes murice uestes'.

hinc uiros, inde praedam For the topos of 'real men' see e.g. *Agr.* 31.4 and n.; for that of the enemy as mere loot see Oakley on Liv. 9.17.16.

35.1 se quisque stimulant ne pugnam per sagittas sinerent The main verb is historic present, as shown by *sinerent*. The Sarmatians' instructions to themselves that they should avoid archery are put into practice below ('omisso arcu').

impetu et comminus For this type of *uariatio* (again at 35.2 below) see Sörbom 95.

Variae hinc bellantium species After the paired speeches and the noise of the Sarmatians, ἐνάργεια – already hinted at in *ostendere* above – is further served by the specific appeal to sight, as *H.* 2.42.2 'non una pugnae facies' (and H.) and Sall. *J.* 51.1 'facies totius negotii uaria', and by the vivid use of the substantive pres. participle. The scene and its diversity are then elaborated by the following *cum*-clause (*Parthus . . . quaereret* ~ *Sarmatae . . . ruerent*), as at 1.65.1, 4.9.2, *Agr.* 36.3 (Rademacher 242–3). It is important to note that in this clause the tactics adopted by each side *on the present occasion* are seen in the light of their general tactics *on other occasions*. Thus the Parthians, accustomed to their technique of the Parthian shot ('sequi . . . suetus'), sought to employ it now too

('distraheret . . . quaereret'); the Sarmatians, on the other hand, ignored altogether the form of archery which they normally practised ('omisso . . . ualent') and fought with their native pikes and swords ('contis . . . ruerent').

Parthus . . . distraheret turmas, spatium ictibus quaereret 'the Parthian . . . spread out his squadrons and sought the range for his strikes [sc. of arrows].' *sequi uel fugere pari arte suetus* is a reference to the Parthian shot: 'after Carrhae the Parthians' ungentlemanly tactics became a stock theme' (N–H on Hor. *C.* 1.19.11). For a list of references see Ash 119 n. 21; also next n.

quo breuius ualent This is a general statement about the archery tactics which the Sarmatians use on other occasions but are *not* using in the present encounter. The context of the statement is as follows. Archers require an appropriate range for their arrows (cf. Front. *Strat.* 2.2.5, Flor. 2.19.6). It is to be inferred from the implied contrast between *spatium* and *breuius* that the Parthians required a range longer than that of the Sarmatians, who, since their archery would fall short of its target, therefore adopted the opposite extreme of ignoring bows and arrows altogether and of fighting at close quarters instead (as they had encouraged each other to do above). With *breuius* we must understand *quam Parthi* ('in which they are only effective over a shorter distance <than the Parthians>'): Nipperdey–Andresen aptly compare Xen. *Anab.* 3.3.7 οἵ τε γὰρ Κρῆτες βραχύτερα τῶν Περσῶν ἐτόξευον. Plutarch talks of the Parthians shooting arrows from a distance at Carrhae (*Crass.* 24.5 διαστάντες ἐκ μήκους ἤρξαντο τοξεύειν ἅμα πανταχόθεν), although Martin interprets Plutarch to refer to the Parthians' distance from one another (see previous n.).

contis gladiisque Regular Sarmatian weaponry (*H.* 1.79.3 'neque conti neque gladii, quos praelongos utraque manu regunt, usui'; cf. Val. Fl. 6.162 'ingentis frenator Sarmata conti'). The same terms are co-ordinated at Juv. 10.20, where, however, Courtney understands *contus* to be a boat-hook.

modo equestris proelii more frontis et tergi uices, aliquando . . . pellerent, pellerentur This passage raises numerous problems. (1) Whereas the preceding contrast between *Parthus* and *Sarmatae* gave two separate pictures of the different ways in which each side fought (cf. 'uariae . . . *bellantium* species'), *modo . . . aliquando* (a distribution evidently unique to T.: see Malloch on 11.34.1) describes the ebb and flow of the battle itself, as first the Parthians ('modo . . . uices') and then the Sarmatians ('aliquando . . . pellerentur') have the upper hand. The change of focus from individual tactics to the different phases of the engagement strongly suggests that a new sentence starts with *modo* and that with *uices* we should understand *erant*. But, if the *cum*-clause extends no further than *ruerent*, the subjunctives *pellerent*, *pellerentur* are unexplained, a problem to which we shall return at (3) below.

(2) *equestris proelii more frontis et tergi uices* (sc. *erant*) clearly alludes to Sall. *H.* 4.75 'more equestris proelii sumptis tergis ac redditis', which, however, being no more than a fragment, does nothing to explain T.'s meaning.[109] Scholars have compared Sall. *J.* 59.3 'uti equestri proelio solet, sequi dein cedere', Caes. *G.* 5.16.3 'equestris autem proelii ratio et cedentibus et insequentibus par atque idem periculum inferebat', Liv. 31.35.3 'equites inuicem insequentes refugientesque'. These passages suggest that cavalry engagements were characterised by attack followed swiftly by retreat (cf. *sequi uel fugere* above): hence T.'s sentence will refer to the fact that the cavalry's opponents will have been faced at one moment with an attacking front and at another by a retreating rear. The difference in the case of the present engagement was that the Parthians were able to continue firing while retreating (*pari arte*: see above on 'the Parthian shot').

(3) A further problem is the transmitted *ut conserta acies*. What does this mean? Most commentators, seeking a contrast with *equestris proelii more*, seem to interpret 'as if the battle were joined'; but this is surely impossible: if that were to be the meaning, we would have to accept Heinsius' *acie* (so G–G 1715a).[110] Good sense would be produced if the clause meant 'whenever the battle was joined'; the difficulty is that, when T. uses *ut* in this sense, there is generally an adverb or (more usually) a pronoun (such as a form of *quisque*) to clarify the meaning (see G–G 1718a for a long list of exs.). The transposition of *ut* from before '*co*nserta' to before '*co*rporibus' not only produces excellent sense but also a conjunction to explain the subjunctives *pellerent, pellerentur* (see (1) above), thus solving two problems at the same time.

The passage as a whole may be rendered as follows: 'Sometimes, as happens in a cavalry battle, there were alternations of front and rear; at other times the engagement was at close quarters, with the result that they were repelling or were being repelled.'

***co*nserta acies ut *co*rporibus et *p*ulsu armorum *pellerent*, *pellerent*ur** So-called 'battle polyptoton' more usually involves nouns (e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 11.615 'pectora pectoribus rumpunt'; see Wills 194–202), but here T. has assembled a striking variety of different effects: the polyptoton of active ~ passive (as e.g. *H.* 3.23.1 'pellunt hostem, dein pelluntur', 3.24.1 'ubi noscere suos noscique poterat') is combined with both the *asyndeton bimembre* which he employs in 'highly-wrought scenes' (Malloch on 11.16.2) and a *figura etymologica*

[109] Maurenbrecher was surely right to place the fragment in the same context as *H.* 4.77, to which T. alludes just later at 37.3; it is placed amongst the *Incerta*, however, by McGushin (fr. 29) and Ramsey (fr. 16), who follow Dietsch and Kritz.

[110] Heinsius also emended *conserta* to *conferta*.

like that at Cic. *ND* 3.31 'omni pulsu facillime pellitur'. For *conserere aciem* cf. Sil. 1.338, 6.316 (both plur.).

35.2 prensare, detrudere They tried to grasp the opposing riders and dislodge them from their horses.

super 'from above' (*OLD* 1a), and contrasting with *propioribus uulneribus* (for the *uariatio* see above, 1n.).

***du*m *s*trenuis ad*s*unt aut ***du*bitantibus *s*ubueniunt** The actions are characteristic of a good general (see e.g. Onas. 33.6).

conspicui eoque gnari 'conspicuous and therefore recognised <by each other>': the scene is like that on the Alexander Mosaic. For passive *gnarus* see 1.5.2n.

clamore, telis, equis concurrunt The closest parallel for these three ingredients seems to be Virg. *Aen.* 11.609–10 'subito erumpunt clamore furentisque |exhortantur equos, fundunt simul undique tela', but cf. also Curt. 4.13.33 'eos ipsi clamore terrerent pauidosque equos telis utrimque suffoderent'.

uulnus per galeam adegit *uulnus adigere* is arguably from Virg. *Aen.* 10.850 'uulnus adactum' (see 1.61.4n., where the same expr. occurs). *per galeam* of a strike through the helmet is also Virgilian (*Aen.* 12.537 'olli per galeam fixo stetit hasta cerebro'), though Turnus is more effective than the king here.

praelatus equo At the battle of Mons Graupius a prefect died a heroic death partly because his horse took him too far into the enemy ranks (*Agr.* 37.6 'iuuenili ardore et ferocia equi hostibus inlatus'); here the king fails to deliver the *coup de grâce* partly because his horse takes him too far past the target. This anticlimax will soon be followed by another (next n. but one).

***fa*ma tamen occisi *fa*lso credita** Curtius makes Alexander say 'fama . . . bella constant, et saepe etiam quod falso creditum est ueri uicem obtinuit' (8.8.15); another ex. was provided by Scipio (Liv. 28.24.15 'mors Scipionis falso credita occaecabat animos'). Josephus, who gives a very brief mention of the battle but has no reference to the single combat, says that Orodes was in fact killed (*AJ* 18.98). Whatever the truth, the man now 'vanishes from the scene and from history' (Martin).

uictoriamque concessere The rather grandiloquent expression (cf. Cic. *Phil.* 12.13, Liv. 10.12.6, 30.18.15, Curt. 5.5.1, Front. *Strat.* 3.8.3) contrasts with the false rumour on which the Parthians' action is based.

36–7 Conclusion

36.1 Mox Artabanus tota mole regni ultum iit Scholars suggest that this marks the start of the second of the fighting seasons to which T. refers at

38.1 below. *ultum* implies that the retaliation with which Artabanus responded to the earlier disaster (cf. 33.2 *ultorem*) could have been repeated by T. here. *mole* = 'force' (*OLD* 9), as Flor. 1.40.14 'tota denique regni sui mole in Asiam rursus . . . ueniebat' (of Mithridates). *ultum ire* (again used abs. at 4.73.3) is very common in T. (6×): twice in Sallust (*J.* 68.1, *H.* 1.31) and once in Livy (2.6.3), it recurs once each in Curt. Quint. [Quint.] and Apul.

Peritia locorum Sallustian (*J.* 46.8); again at *Agr.* 25.4 and Amm. 19.8.5. This is the second time the Iberians' topographical expertise has been invoked (cf. 33.3).

nec ideo abscedebat, ni . . . 'yet he was not on that account intending to withdraw, but . . . ' (*OLD neque* 5). T. breaks off the military action with the appropriately named '*ni* de rupture' (Chausserie-Laprée 597–617, 637, though the present ex. is strangely omitted): no doubt he could have expanded on the fighting (last n. but one), but he is anxious to move on to the aftermath, and the *peripeteia* is very condensed (below). For T.'s use of *ni*/*nisi* see 3.14.4n.

legionibus Presumably the four Syrian legions (cf. 37.4).

subdito rumore tamquam Mesopotamiam inuasurus *subdito rumore* (*H.* 3.25.1) and *rumor* + *tamquam* (15.73.1, Suet. *Vit.* 16.1) are both extremely rare; commentators describe *inuasurus* as a fut. participle, but surely *esset* has to be understood despite the unusualness of the ellipse (*contra* Nipperdey–Andresen).

36.2 desererent The abbreviated manner continues: only here is *inlicere* constructed with a simple subjunctive (rather than *ut*), and the subject of *desererent* has to be supplied.

aduersis proeliorum Causal: 'because of his adversities in battle', a use of *aduersa* + gen. of which T. is fond (G–G 50b). The phrase varies and is chiastic with the preceding.

quem . . . memoraui At 31.2. For cross-references and *memoraui* see 6.10.3n. (*censorium*); for *infensus* see 5.3.2n. (*infense*).

Abdagaesen Little else is known of this figure, whose name on Indo-Parthian coins appears as ΑΒΔΑΓΑΣΟΥ in the genitive (Olbrycht 223 n. 33).

occultos consilii Only T. constructs *occultus* with a genitive. Here the adj. is said to mean 'acting secretly' (*OLD* 3a) and the genitive will be one of reference: hence 'secret plotters'; the phrase is chiastic and partly alliterative with the following. At 4.7.1 'non occultus odii', the only other ex. of the construction, the meaning is 'making no secret of his hatred'.

***c*ontinuis *c*ladibus** Livian (22.18.10, 23.22.1).

ad defectionem trahit Also Livian (24.45.2, 25.26.6) and repeated at 12.39.3, *H.* 3.57.1.

metu magis quam beneuolentia subiecti Artabanus' regime is marked as tyrannical by his subjects' fear (see e.g. Plato, *Rep.* 578a, 579e), with which is contrasted the goodwill of the wise ruler: the antithesis (again at *H.* 4.76.4) is Ciceronian and suggests that T. has in mind Cicero's discussion of tyranny in the light of Julius Caesar's death (*Off.* 2.23). T. may already have alluded to this passage at 4.33.1 (*haud diuturna esse potest* ~ *Off.* 2.25 'nec . . . possit esse diuturna'), and will perhaps do so again at the end of Tib.'s reign (below, 50.2n. *neque*). *subiecti*, however, seems unparalleled in this sense with either noun.

repertis auctoribus It was a convention that subversive groups initially lack a leader (Oakley on Liv. 7.39.8, W. on Vell. 125.2).

36.3 si qui externorum corpori custodes aderant For a tyrant's foreign bodyguards see above, 15.2n. (*utque*). The expr. *corporis custos* is universal and exceptionally common from Ennius onwards (*Med.* 237J); the dat. is unique to T., who at 1.24.2 writes *qui tum custodes imperatori aderant* ('who were then accompanying the commander as guards') and at 3.14.5 has *custos saluti* ('protector of his safety': see n.): despite the verbal similarity of the former, the latter is perhaps the better analogy.

sedibus extorres More Livy (32.13.14).

boni intellectus *intellectus* is of course nom. sing. (cf. Sen. *Ep.* 124.8).

***m*ercede aluntur *m*inistri sceleribus** The imagery indicates the interdependent nature of this criminal economy: Artabanus' attendants served him with crime (as if with food), while he fed them with cash. There is a similar metaphorical context at 4.71.1 'scelerum ministros' (n.), and the genitive (singular or plural) is the regular expr. (H. on *H.* 4.27.2); once again T.'s dat. is unique. See also 48.4 below.

36.4 in longinqua et contermina Scythiae fugam maturauit, spe auxilii, quia Hyrcanis Carmaniisque per adfinitatem innexus erat 'Rivalry between royal contenders with Eastern or Western powerbases is a recurrent theme in Parthian history' (J. G. F. Powell, 'Horace, Scythia, and the East', *PLLS* 14 (2010) 154 n. 33). Artabanus was clearly looking to the East for help: Scythia, although a long way away (*et* is epexegetical), borders Parthia, and Hyrcania, on the south-eastern edge of the Caspian (*BA* Map 3: F–G 2), is a plausible staging-post; but, since Carmania is far to the south, just north of the Strait of Hormuz (*BA* Map 3: G4), it may be inferred from *quia* that to T. these places were just names.

fugam maturare originated with Sallust (*H.* 1.80), was used once by Virgil (*Aen.* 1.137), and was picked up by T., Frontinus (*Strat.* 2.6.8) and Justin (2.13.7). *innecto*, thus used of personal relationships (as again at 16.14.1, *H.* 4.68.2), is unique to T. (*TLL* 7.1.1695.80–3). *Hyrcanis Carmaniisque* are presumably dat. (cf. *H.* 4.68.2 'domui Vespasiani per adfinitatem innexum').

***p*osse *P*arthos *a*bsentium *ae*quos, *p*raesentibus *m*obiles, ad *p*aenitentiam *m*utari** Artabanus' final thoughts are elaborately alliterative (AABB CDCD) and typically Tacitean. *aequus* is not elsewhere constructed with the gen. ('fair towards those absent') rather than the dat. (K–S 1.443), nor *mobilis* ('fickle') with the dat. rather than with *ad*/*in* + acc., but no one seems to have questioned the text. Furneaux suggests that the former 'may possibly be in imitation of the Greek genitive with a word expressing desire or affection'.

37.1 hortatus Tiridaten parata capessere In fact Tiridates will rule for less than a year before Artabanus returns (41.2–44.5). For the infin. after *hortari* see Malloch on 11.16.1.

37.2 Sacrificantibus Dat. with *nuntiauere* below.

suouetaurilia 'A purificatory sacrifice (esp. to Mars) consisting of a boar, a ram, and a bull' (*OLD*); see also Oakley on Liv. 8.10.14.

placando amni A similar scene to Val. Fl. 4.337–8 'hinc ualida caedunt armenta bipenni | perfusique sacro placati gurgitis amne . . . ' For *amnis* see further below, 3n. (*campis*); for the dat. after *adornare* cf. 12.13.3, Dictys 1.21.

immensum For this adv. see 3.30.1n.

albentibus spumis in modum diadematis sinuare orbes 'with white spray was coiling circles in the shape of a diadem.' *albens*/*albere* is found 'predominantly in poetry' (Malloch on 11.4.2, with details), and indeed the phrase as a whole is Ovidian (*Met.* 7.415, 15.519), though only the latter passage is used of water.

auspicium . . . transgressus For the appositional expression see 24.2n. (*tamquam*).

fides 'credibility.'

fluminum instabilis natura Jac. Gronovius noted a similar idea in Ach. Tat. 5.16.2 γάμος ἐπὶ κύματος, γάμος ὑπὸ θαλάσσης φερόμενος; θάλαμον ἡμῖν θέλεις γενέσθαι μὴ μένοντα;

37.3 Ornospades multis equitum milibus in castra uenit 'In military language, in expressions denoting marching with troops, the Ablative of Accompaniment is often used without *cum*, even though the accompaniments

are persons, so long as there is an epithet attached. This is sometimes called the *Ablativus Militaris*' (*NLS* §46 (ii)): see further K–S 1.407–8, L–H–S 114–15. Ornospades is otherwise unknown.

Tiberio . . . haud inglorius auxiliator *auxiliator*, an ex. of T.'s liking for nouns in *–tor* or *–sor* (1.24.2n.), is not common (once each in Petron. Stat. Quint. Apul.); *inglorius* is commoner in verse than prose (Kuntz 140–1). The reference is to the revolt in Pannonia and Dalmatia in AD 6–9 (Vell. 2.110–16 and nn.).

campis qui Euphrate et Tigri inclutis amnibus circumflui Mesopotamiae nomen acceperunt Since T. at 35.1 above seems clearly to allude to Sall. *H.* 4.75 (see n. *modo*), it is very likely that here he has in mind Sallust's reference at *H.* 4.77 to the same two rivers: 'qui per diuersa euntes longius diuiduntur spatio medio relicto multorum milium; sed terra quae ab iis ambitur Mesopotamia dicitur'. *amnis*, which T. comes to prefer to *flumen* only in Books 11–16 (3.61.1n.), is here used, in the manner of Livy, of important rivers in the east (e.g. Vell. 101.1 'quam amnis Euphrates ambiebat' and n.), their significance heightened by *inclutis*, an adj. generally reserved by T. for imposing rivers, temples, mountains and the like (Kuntz 99–101, comparing Curt. 3.1.2, 3.4.8 'Pyramus et Cydnus, incluti amnes', 8.9.3). *amnis* often attracts etymologies (e.g. 15.4.2 'Nicephorius amnis . . . partem murorum ambit', Ov. *Met.* 15.739 'scinditur in geminas partes circumfluus amnis'; Vell. 101.1n.), as here with *circumflui*, the passive use of which ('surrounded') is almost entirely poetic (cf. Stat. *Theb.* 4.831 'medio circumfluus amni').

columen partium A *columen* was 'the horizontal pole which supported the roof of a house; but the word was used fairly often in a metaphorical sense to mean "support" or "corner-stone"' (Oakley on Liv. 6.37.10): see further *TLL* 3.1736.64ff.; N–H on Hor. *C.* 2.17.4; Brock 96 n. 19.

37.4 monet is followed in the first instance (*hunc*) by two chiastic genitives and an indir. qu. (Sörbom 116), and in the second instance (*illos*) by an indir. command without *ut*.

utrubique 'in each case' (*OLD* 3).

38–39 Domestic affairs: six deaths

We return from Parthia to Rome to be given a list of six deaths, arranged symmetrically. The first (Fulcinius Trio: 38.2–3) and last (Poppaeus Sabinus: 39.3) are treated more extensively than the others, and each is preceded by a transitional sentence describing Tib.'s cruelty (38.1, 39.2); Sabinus died a natural death, and all reference to Trio's manner of death (suicide) is elided. Within this frame are two pairs of less significant deaths (38.4 and 39.1), suicide preceding execution in each case. Most memorable of all, though explicitly

stated to be imaginary (39.2 *quasi*), is the picture of the *princeps* observing from a distance the blood gushing from the suicides' veins and the executioner's hands around his victims' necks.

38.1 Quae duabus aestatibus gesta coniunxi quo requiesceret animus a domesticis malis Writing presupposes reading, and ancient writers were appropriately concerned to write in a manner which they considered would best suit their readers' interests. Sisenna amalgamates events in Asia and Greece so that his readers will not have to jump from one to the other (F130C = 127P 'nos una aestate in Asia et Graecia gesta litteris idcirco continentia mandauimus ne uellicatim aut saltuatim scribendo lectorum animos impediremus'); Curtius Rufus for similar reasons prefers to interrupt chronology and to amalgamate events in Asia (5.1.1–2 'Quae interim ductu imperioque Alexandri uel in Graecis uel in Illyriis ac Thraecia gesta sunt, si suis quaeque temporibus reddere uoluero, interrumpendae sunt res Asiae, quas utique ad fugam mortemque Darei uniuersas in conspectu dari et, sicut inter se cohaerent, ita opere ipso *coniungi* haud paulo aptius uideri potest. igitur quae proelio apud Arbela *coniuncta* sunt ordiar dicere'). Likewise Velleius complemented his sequential narrative by including within it surveys of colonisation and provincialisation (1.14.1 'cum facilius cuiusque rei in unum contracta species quam diuisa temporibus oculis animisque inhaereat . . . ', 2.38.1 'ut quae partibus notauimus facilius simul uniuersa conspici possint'), and T. observes this tradition explicitly in his narrative of AD 50 (12.40.5 'haec, quamquam a duobus pro praetoribus plures per annos gesta, *coniunxi*, ne diuisa haud proinde ad memoriam sui ualerent') and perhaps implicitly in that of AD 54 (13.9.3 'quae in alios consules egressa *coniunxi*').[111]

The converse problem was that of sustaining the same topic for too long. Livy can brazen it out in a self-reflexive flourish (10.31.10 'supersunt etiam nunc Samnitium bella quae continua per quartum iam uolumen . . . agimus'[112] ~ 15 'quinam sit ille quem pigeat longinquitatis bellorum

[111] I have assumed that *quae duabus aestatibus gesta coniunxi* means 'I (have) amalgamated the deeds which were performed over two seasons' and hence that these words should begin a new section; but the words could equally well mean 'These deeds, which were performed over two seasons, I (have) amalgamated', in which case they should perhaps be the final sentence of the preceding section. The latter interpretation is supported by 12.40.5, the former perhaps by 13.9.3.

[112] For other examples of the phenomenon whereby a writer is represented as performing the same actions that his characters are performing cf. Plb. 3.57.1 (no comment from Walbank ad loc.) and Dion. Hal. *Thuc.* 9 Δῆλον καθαίρει (this one provided by Prof. Reeve). The standard discussion of this phenomenon in verse is G. Lieberg, *Poeta creator: Studien zu einer Figur der antiken Dichtung* (1982).

scribendo legendoque quae gerentes non fatigauerunt?'), but elsewhere he famously inserts a digression to provide pleasure for the reader and *requies* for himself (9.17.1 'nihil minus quaesitum a principio huius operis uideri potest quam ut plus iusto ab rerum ordine declinarem uarietatibusque distinguendo opere et legentibus uelut deuerticula amoena et requiem animo meo quaererem': see Oakley ad loc.). T., whose repeated concern for his readers' potential *taedium* (cf. 4.33.3, 16.16.1) has already been voiced in Book 6 (see 7.5n. *aut*), here capitalises on the above device of amalgamation by joining together two seasons of foreign affairs in order to provide relief from domestic afflictions.

Martin explains the tense of *requiesceret* as an example of the common phenomenon whereby a present-perfect can be followed by an imperfect subjunctive (*NLS* §140 *Note*); but one cannot be certain that *coniunxi* is not aorist-perfect, seeing things from the reader's point of view. *animus requiescit* (again at 1.25.3) is also at Sen. *Ep.* 65.17, but T. is almost certainly alluding to Sallust (*C.* 4.1 'ubi animus ex multis miseriis atque periculis requieuit'). *domestica mala* is a common expr. (3.18.2n.), esp. in Cicero, but both the context and the combination with *animus* suggest an allusion to Livy (6.18.2 'ne quo externo terrore auocarentur animi ab sanandis domesticis malis'), where the medical imagery is brought out clearly.

Non enim Tiberium . . . mitigabant Once again history is repeating itself, this time from AD 21: 'non enim Tiberius, non accusatores fatiscebant' (3.38.1). *tempus mitigat* (either active, as Quint. 6.1.28, or passive, as Sen. *Ep.* 49.1) and *preces mitigant* (usually passive, as *H.* 1.63.1 and 3.32.1, but cf. Liv. 8.33.7 'preces . . . hostem mitigauere') are regular, if not esp. common, expressions; but *satias* is a rare noun, found mostly in archaic verse (1× in Sall., 3× in Liv., 4× in Plin. Mai., 4× in T.); see also 3.30.4n. Since *mitigare* is used of softening the effects of disease and the like (*TLL* 8.1151.19ff.), the imagery of *domesticis malis* (above) is sustained: the *princeps* is himself an affliction, like the accusers who act on his behalf (38.2 below).

quamquam <qua>driennio post caedem Seiani Since Sejanus had been executed on 18 October AD 31, the interval was not three years, as the paradosis has it, but four; it seems very probable that *qua* dropped out after *quamquā* and that *driennio* was then 'emended' in the simplest way possible. *quadriennio* is mentioned as a possibility by Nipperdey but is rejected on the grounds that T. is here dealing with the beginning of AD 35 and that therefore 'das dritte Jahr näher war als das vierte'; but there is no evidence that T. is here dealing with the beginning of the year, nor any reason to think that he was not conceptualising chronology in terms of consular years. For *quamquam* see 6.7.5n. (*nobis*).

38.2 Eo <in> metu M here reads *eometu*, with superscript and subscript diagonals between the *o* and the *m*, presumably to indicate that the words should be separated: *eo metu*, printed in all editions, would presumably mean 'because of his fear of this' (as *H.* 3.41.3: see H.'s n.). But it makes little sense to say that fear caused Trio's intolerance of the accusers and led him to attack not only Macro and the freedmen but also the *princeps* himself.[113] I suspect that the text requires more than a single correction and that T. wrote *eo in metu*, 'in a situation of such fear', drawing a *contrast* between the general atmosphere and the actions of the combative Trio. For *eo in metu* cf. 1.40.1, where exactly the same phrase is used to begin a sentence.

Fulcinius Trio See 5.11.1n.

ingruentis accusatores The verb can be used of the attack of diseases: see n. on 3.56.1, where the same expression occurs.

supremis tabulis 'The testator's last judgment mattered terribly to the living. Accordingly the concept of the *supremum iudicium* pervades both Latin literature and Latin epitaphs' (E. Champlin, *Final judgments: duty and emotion in Roman wills* (1991) 16, who compares Trio's case with those of Annaeus Mela at 16.17.6 and of Petronius at 16.19.3, detailing Nero's *flagitia*). According to Suetonius, Augustus had intervened 'ne de inhibenda testamentorum licentia quicquam constitueretur' (*Aug.* 56.1). T.'s references to the will here and to the heirs below (3) are the only indications that Trio has died; Dio says explicitly that Trio killed himself (58.25.2).

Ginsburg (21–2) infers from Dio, whose account is very similar to T.'s, that Trio was charged shortly after the consuls for 35 took up office and hence that T., by beginning his narrative with the Parthian episode, has distorted the chronology of the year; but it is not at all clear from Dio that such an inference is justified (58.25.2); see further 39.2n. (*urbem*) below.

Macronem See 15.2n.

praecipuos libertorum 'With the reign of Tiberius we are still in the period before the great days of the freedmen' (Millar 73). At 4.6.4 we were told that Tib.'s establishment required few freedmen ('intra paucos libertos domus'), so T.'s reference here comes as something of a surprise; perhaps more was said in the lost part of Book 5. Josephus mentions one Euodus as the highest-ranked freedman (*AJ* 18.205), and refers to another, seemingly nameless (*AJ* 18.167); Pliny refers to a Nomius (*NH* 13.94), Dio to a Hiberus who was temporarily prefect of Egypt (58.19.6). Houston speculates about the

[113] Koestermann can explain *eo metu* only by saying that *se ipse interfecit* has to be supplied from the context. Furneaux and Nipperdey–Andresen seem to make a similar point but in a much more complicated manner.

'freedmen procurators' who will have supervised the villa staff on Capri (190), but there is no actual evidence.

fluxam senio mentem For *fluxam* Furneaux suggests 'decayed', Martin 'unstable', yet neither seems adequate to this graphic description. Since Romans recognised the condition of senile dementia (Parkin 228ff.), it is possible that Trio is describing madness in terms of fluidity. Whether or not it is relevant that 'Homer and his audience knew that . . . the brain is a fluid mass' (R. B. Onians, *The origins of European thought* (²1954) 108, quoting *Il.* 3.300), the author of *The Sacred Disease* associated madness with excessive moisture (14 (17) μαινόμεθα μὲν ὑπὸ ὑγρότητος): see in general R. Padel, *In and out of the mind* (1992) 81–8 on 'flow and storm'. Perhaps Trio is suggesting that Tib.'s mind is liquefying with age. (For the notion that 'a dry constitution was the best, especially for the mental powers', see the refs. collected at the end of Powell's n. on Cic. *Senec.* 34.)

uelut exilium The notion of Tib. as an exile was introduced the moment he left Rome in 26 (4.58.2 'libens patria careret' and n.).

38.3 Quae ab heredibus occultata recitari Tiberius iussit The reading was in the senate (Dio 58.25.3).

patientiam libertatis alienae ostentans . . . per probra saltem gnarus fieri During a trial ten years earlier Tib. had been forced to hear the insults directed at him behind his back, and this was one of his reasons for withdrawing from Rome (4.42.1–2 'audiuit Tiberius probra quis per occultum lacerabatur'); and in 28, when Asinius Gallus proposed asking the *princeps* to disclose his fears to the senate so that they could be dealt with, the inveterate dissembler was all the more annoyed to learn that what he wished suppressed was being disclosed (4.71.2–3 'eo aegrius accepit recludi quae premeret'). The Tib. presented in Book 6 is quite different. He voluntarily discloses his own mental state to the senate in a letter (6.1–2), and then parades before the senate the agonising picture of the young Drusus starving to death (24.3). Dio implies that this confessional mode of the *princeps* had become more common (58.25.3–4), although in permitting the *testamentorum licentia* Tib. was in fact following Augustan precedent, as often (see above, 2n. *supremis*). Häussler (322) collects exs. of the antithesis between concealment and revelation and contrasts the Germans (*G.* 22.3 'gens non astuta nec callida aperit adhuc secreta pectoris').

patientiam libertatis alienae ostentans 'There was one category of free man in whom *patientia* was regularly praised and upon whom it was unhesitatingly urged, directly or by implication, as a virtue: that was the man whose superior power was beyond question – in the Roman context, especially, the *princeps* – in whom *patientia* was above all the forbearance that stayed

his hand and kept him from reaching out to crush his inferiors' (R. A. Kaster, 'The taxonomy of patience, or When is *patientia* not a virtue?', *CP* 97 (2002) 142–3). Tib.'s *patientia* is praised at *SCPP* 17, but in fact the only emperor who adopted *patientia* as an official virtue was Hadrian (*RIC* 2.381 no. 365), and the surviving numismatic evidence is scanty (Noreña 156). For a different kind of episode involving *libertas* and *patientia* see 1.74.4–6; and for some other occasions on which T. explicitly mentions Tib. 'displaying his toleration of others' free speech' see e.g. 1.77.3 and 3.60.3, though neither involves insults directed at himself. For *patientiam . . . ostentans* cf. Cic. *Cat.* 1.26. For *patientia* see further *TLL* 10.1.712.3ff.; on *libertas* see further on *ueritas* below.

contemptor suae infamiae Despite T.'s liking for nouns in *–tor* (37.3n.), this one does not recur in the *Annals*. The phrase, perhaps recalling Liv. 44.22.7 'nemo tam famae contemptor est', varies the preceding (cf. 4.1.3 'sui obtegens, in alios criminator'; Sörbom 94) and completes a chiasmus.

ueritatisque, cui adulatio officit, per probra saltem gnarus fieri 'Die Tatsache, dass Schmeichelei Unwahrheit impliziert, ist für Tacitus ein Allgemeinplatz' (Vielberg 93, in a discussion of this passage). Pliny, appropriately, begins his *Panegyricus* with the antithesis between the two (1.6 'utque omnibus quae dicentur a me libertas, fides, ueritas constet, tantumque a specie adulationis absit gratiarum actio mea quantum abest a necessitate'), and, differently expressed, it appears prominently at the start of T.'s *Histories* (1.1.1 'ueritas pluribus modis infracta . . . mox libidine adsentandi'). For the wording in our passage T. perhaps remembered Sall. *C.* 51.2 'haud facile animus uerum prouidet ubi illa officiunt'. Conversely criticism was associated with free speech (*H.* 1.1.2 'adulationi foedum crimen seruitutis, malignitati falsa species libertatis inest'), and skilful flatterers would mix criticism with praise in order to produce an appearance of free speech (Plut. *Mor.* [*De Herod. Malignitate*] 856d οἱ σύν τινι τέχνῃ καὶ δεινότητι κολακεύοντες ἔστιν ὅτε πολλοῖς καὶ μακροῖς ἐπαίνοις ψόγους παραμιγνύουσιν ἐλαφρούς, οἷον ἥδυσμα τῇ κολακείᾳ τὴν παρρησίαν ἐμβάλλοντες). T.'s point here is that the criticisms *were in fact* true.

38.4 Isdem diebus See 3.72.1n.

Granius Marcianus Now known to have been proconsul of Baetica *c.* AD 22 (*AE* 1990.222; *BNP* 5.990 [Granius II 4]), this person may have been a son of Granius Marcellus (1.74.1n.), from whose family Pliny is thought to have inherited his estate at Tifernum in the upper Tiber valley (see E. Champlin, 'Pliny's other country', in M. Peachin (ed.), *Aspects of friendship in the Graeco-Roman world* (2001) 122–3).

C. Graccho Perhaps the man mentioned as praetor in AD 33 (16.3).

***ui*m *ui*tae suae attulit** For the expr., varied by *sua manu cecidit* at 39.1 below (Sörbom 35), see Vell. 45.5n.

Tariusque Gratianus Possibly a son of L. Tarius Rufus (*suff.* 16 BC).

ad supplicium damnatus This construction to express punishment is rare (16.22.2, Plin. *Ep.* 10.32.1, Suet. *Nero* 31.3) but common in legal texts (*TLL* 5.1.16.15–30).[114]

39.1 Trebellieni Rufi For this man and his name see 2.67.2 (where he is called 'Trebellenus') and 3.38.3 and nn. Nothing is known about his case.

Sexti<l>i Paconiani For this man and his name (which requires emendation here) see 6.3.4n.

in *car*cere ob *car*mina illic . . . factitat The implication seems to be that Paconianus had been in prison since 32 (3.4 above); at 19.3 there is a reference to other *Seianiani* who had been similarly detained. The exact charge brought against Paconianus is not known (Rutledge 268). Four lines of his poetry, on the four cardinal winds, have been preserved: see Courtney, *FLP* 343–4. *carmina factitare* is another expr. peculiar to T. (5×).

39.2 non mari, ut olim, diuisus neque per longinquos nuntios These varied alternatives (for the common *uariatio* of participle ~ prep. phrase see Sörbom 92–3) are themselves picked up in a varied manner by, respectively, *urbem iuxta* and *eodem ut die . . . rescriberet*. For the official exchanges between Tib. and the senate see 5.4.1n. (*eoque*) and 6.5.2n. (*nec*); *longinquus* here = 'coming from afar' (*OLD* 2).

urbem iuxta Ginsburg (21–2 and n. 24) agrees with Rogers (43) that Tib.'s presence near Rome on this occasion is to be explained by the statement in Dio (58.25.2) that the *princeps* was at Antium – aproximately 30 miles from Rome – to celebrate the marriage of Gaius Caligula to Claudia; but neither scholar can explain why T. has already recorded the marriage under 33, two years earlier (20.1n. *C. Caesar*). For the anastrophe of the prep. see Malloch on 11.2.1.

quasi aspiciens undantem per domos sanguinem aut manus carnificum *undantem . . . sanguinem* and *manus carnificum* relate respectively to *sua manu cecidit* and *strangulatus est* just above, and to the preceding cases (38.2–4) correspondingly. It follows that *per domos* does not refer to blood 'gushing through the houses' (*OLD per* 1b), though it may suggest such a scene, but is to be taken distributively, 'in each house' (5a). For the image of surging blood cf. Cic. *Red. Sen.* 6, *Red. Pop.* 14 'flumine sanguinis' (E. Fantham, *Comparative studies*

[114] I owe this information to Prof. S. Bartera.

in republican Latin imagery (1972) 122) or Virg. *Aen.* 10.908 'undanti . . . cruore', where Harrison's comment that it 'is common in Silver epic' is, if anything, an understatement; indeed T. is perhaps remembering Stat. *Theb.* 1.449–50 'ipse *undantis sanguine* uultus | *aspicis*'.

39.3 Fine anni . . . concessit uita For both expressions see 3.30.1n.

Poppaeus Sabinus See 5.10.2n. Dio says that Sabinus was happy to die before being charged (58.25.4 ἥδιστα προαπηλλάγη πρίν τινα αἰτίαν λαβεῖν), but this need not be taken to mean that he was actually in danger of being charged.

modicus originis For *modicus* referring to humble origins etc. (Sabinus was a *nouus homo*) see *TLL* 8.1231.39–57; the gen. appears to be first at Vell. 1.12.4 (K–S 1.445).

principum amicitia Since friendship with the *princeps* was a fact of everyday life, the phrase *principis amicitia* was in common use (e.g. 3.30.3, 4.31.3); yet the plural *principum* happens to have particular resonances. It was used by T.'s friend Pliny in a well–known letter to describe his uncle (*Ep.* 3.5.7), by Livy in the same sentence (21.2.5) from which T. derived the expr. *plura consilio quam ui* (2.26.3), and, perhaps most famously of all, in Horace's Pollio ode (*C.* 2.1.4).

consulatum . . . impositus Sabinus had been (unusually for a *nouus homo*) *consul ordinarius* in AD 9 under Augustus and was appointed governor of Moesia in AD 11 or 12; his concomitant governorships of Achaia and Macedonia were added under Tib. in AD 15 (1.80.1), and he won the *ornamenta triumphalia* in AD 26 (4.46.1). T. does not present his career chronologically; the order of achievements imitates that on so-called '*cursus* inscriptions': see L. Maurizi, *Il cursus honorum senatorio da Augusto a Traiano: sviluppi formali e stilistici nell' epigrafia latina e greca* (2013). The official format sets off the non-epitaphic elements of T.'s obituary: that the man was of modest origins and had no exceptional qualities. For *triumphale decus* (a Tacitean peculiarity) see 6.10.3n. (*decus*).

nullam ob eximiam artem sed quod par *ne*gotiis *ne*que supra erat This assessment completes a ring with the generalisation to which the first mention of Sabinus gave rise (1.80.2): 'neque enim eminentis uirtutes sectabatur [sc. Tiberius], et rursum uitia oderat: ex optimis periculum sibi, a pessimis dedecus publicum metuebat'. Petronius is another ex. of the same phenomenon (16.18.2 'proconsul . . . Bithyniae et mox consul uigentem se ac parem negotiis ostendit'), but in his case the context makes it clear that the verdict is not dispraise. At *Agr.* 9.5 the hero of the biography is probably also described as 'equal', but there the point is to maximise the challenge of Britain in order to emphasise how brilliantly Agricola will rise to it. In our passage *nullam* is emphatic (5.1.3n. *Sanctitate*). For a similar play on *par* and *supra* cf. Sen.

Ep. 111.4 'et supra humana est et par sibi in omni statu rerum'. For the *uariatio* of *ob* ~ causal clause see e.g. 1.22.2, 2.42.3, 4.15.3, *H.* 2.4.3; Sörbom 115–16.

40–45.2 THE YEAR AD 36

This is the only year in Book 6 which follows the narrative pattern of domestic affairs – foreign affairs – domestic affairs which Ginsburg described as T.'s 'Livian' template;[115] it is also the second shortest year of the book, and one of the shorter years in the whole of the *Annals* (above, p. 204 and n. 83). Since the end of the year is closely – and most unusually – linked with the start of the year which follows and which is Tiberius' last (cf. 45.3 'neque *enim* multo post supremi Tiberio consules . . . magistratum occepere'), the narrative is (as it were) conscious of its penultimate status not only in Book 6 but also in the first hexad. As if in preparation for the end, the domestic sections in particular have a retrospective focus: more deaths (40), another grim letter from the *princeps* (40.2), Sejanus' relatives (40.2), the daughter of Marcus Lepidus (40.3), Tib.'s financial generosity (45.1) and his grandsons (45.2). These are all themes which we have read before. Meanwhile the central foreign section (41–4) brings to a close the Parthian narrative which was treated so extensively under AD 35 (31–7). Everything is set for the *dénouement*.

40 Domestic affairs

40.1 Quintus Plautius Sex. Papinius consules sequuntur This is the second of three occasions in Book 6 when the abl. abs. formula (for which see 3.2.3n., 5.1.1n.) is not used to begin the year (the others are 1.1 and 45.3); for the particular form of words here see 3.52.1 and ref. there to Liv. 3.30.1, the only two other exs. Neither Plautius nor Papinius reappears in T.'s text. The former (*RE* 21.29–30 = Plautius 41 (Hofmann), *PIR* 6.185 no. 459, *BNP* 11.359 [Plautius II 5]) is probably a younger brother of the Aulus Plautius (*suff.* 29) who is deemed to be the transcriber of the *SCPP* and who led the invasion of Britain in 43 (13.32.2). For Sex. Papinius Allenius, 'quem consulem uidimus' (Plin. *NH* 15.47; cf. 31.1n.), see *RE* 18.982–4 = Papinius 6 (Helm), *PIR* 6.29 no. 102, *BNP* 10.484 [Papinius 3]; Rüpke 825 no. 2611; Syme, *RP* 4.373–4. One of his sons jumps out of a window at 49.1 below.

neque quod * L. Aruseius morte adfecti forent . . . ut atrox aduertebatur, sed exterruit quod . . . hausit** There is no break in the text of M, but it is clear that an indeterminate number of words has been omitted by mistake. Although the lacuna makes certainty impossible, the sentence

[115] See Ginsburg 54 and 135, and, for modifications to her position, see above, Intro. to 1–14.

appears to be constructed as a chiasmus, with the two centralised main verbs respectively preceded and followed by clauses where *quod* = 'the fact that'. While *exterruit* is followed by only one such clause, however, it is clear from *neque* that *aduertebatur* must have been preceded by at least one other clause beginning *neque quod*. Indeed, as Ritter remarked, the repetition of *neque quod* was probably the reason for the lacuna, the scribe's eye having jumped from one to the other. On a minimalist reconstruction the missing clause will have contained one other name: 'neither the fact that <XXX nor the fact that> L. Aruseius had been visited with death was seen as being frightful, given the afflictions to which people were accustomed, but really terrifying was the fact that . . . ' It is of course possible that the lacuna is considerably longer, e.g. *neque quod <eo uentum est ut XXX neque quod> L. Aruseius morte adfecti forent*: this would provide an explanation for the subjunctive, which otherwise seems difficult.[116]

The lacuna has not destroyed a striking and sustained metaphor of illness. *adsuetudine malorum* echoes Liv. 25.26.10 'adsuetudine mali', where *mali* refers to the epidemic afflicting and killing the Roman and Carthaginian forces at Syracuse, which Livy describes dramatically and at length. *adficio*, extremely common of illness (*TLL* 1.1210.42ff.), is here used of the death resulting from the attacks of the accusers, who are often described in terms of an aggressive illness (e.g. 3.56.1, 3.66.1, 4.66.1). For *aduertebatur* cf. *OLD* 6a.

L. Aruseius Nothing is known of this person, unless he is the same as named simply *Aruseius* at 6.7.1 above. The identification is perhaps rendered less likely by the presence here of the *praenomen*; the context moreover suggests that the punishment of this Aruseius was undeserved, which was not the case with the earlier homonym. But certainty is impossible.

Vibulenus Agrippa eques Romanus . . . in ipsa curia . . . uenenum hausit In generalising from this incident, Suetonius provides no name for the suicide (*Tib.* 61.4 'partim in media curia uenenum hauserunt'), which is unfortunate, since the name is in dispute. M reads *Vibulenus*. Although Syme elsewhere argued in favour of authorial over scribal error, here he urged correction to *Vibullius Agrippa* on the strength of that name at Dio 58.21.4, where, however, the man's suicide is placed three years earlier, in 33: see *TST* 77, with remarks on the distribution of the name Vibullius in the Antonine age. Syme is followed by Koestermann, Heubner and Borzsák (and see also Demougin, *PCR* 244–5 no. 282), but the appearance of a local decurion called Q. Vibulenus Agrippa from Copia Thurii in an almost contemporary inscription (*AE* 2008.441) should perhaps give us pause.[117] *cum perorassent accusatores* indicates

[116] Koestermann suggests an iterative force, which seems unlikely. Perhaps under the influence of the adverbial *non quod* to express a rejected reason?

[117] The inscription is tentatively dated AD 15–24 in *AE*.

that, like the *eques* M. Terentius earlier (6.8.1), Agrippa was being tried in the senate (6.10.2n. *Haec*); he had not barged into the curia simply to stage a dramatic suicidal protest, as did Mutilia Prisca, the wife of Fufius Geminus, who had stabbed herself in the senate house in AD 30 (Dio 58.4.6: see 6.14.1n. *prodigentia*).

festinatis lictorum manibus in carcerem raptus est This passage and 16.32.1 constitute the evidence for the presence of lictors when the curia was functioning as a court (Talbert 129). The detail of their hands recalls the fate of Helvidius Priscus (*Agr.* 45.1 'nostrae duxere Heluidium in carcerem manus'); *festinatis*, which invites us to imagine the shocked and terrified senators urging the lictors to hurry up before the dying man actually died, contrasts ironically with the *pretium festinandi* which suicides won by cheating the executioner (29.1): this is literally a race to the death. For the *carcer* itself see T. J. Cadoux, 'The Roman *carcer* and its adjuncts', *G&R* 55 (2008) 202–15 (map on p. 204); *LTUR* 1.236–7.

40.2 Ne Tigranes quidem . . . supplicia ciuium effugit This is evidently Tigranes V, grandson of Herod the Great. He was the last of the kings whom Augustus attempted to impose upon the kingdom of Greater Armenia (*RG* 27.2 with Cooley ad loc.), but he was expelled around AD 7 after only a year. See *PIR* 8.56 no. 206, *BNP* 14.671–2 [Tigranes 6]. *supplicia ciuium* is an expression favoured, esp. in the *Verrines*, by Cicero, for whom the genitive is objective ('punishments of citizens'); here, however, the contrast with *regio* above indicates that T.'s meaning is 'quibus ciues affici solent' (G–G 171b). Tigranes was by no means the first foreign king to experience Roman justice in this way: in 29 BC Augustus summoned Antiochus of Commagene to Rome, where he was tried for murder before the senate and executed (Dio 52.43.1), and in AD 17 Archelaus of Cappadocia was accused in the senate and died soon after (2.42.2–3).

C. Galba The consul of 22 and elder brother of the future emperor (3.52.1n.).

duo Blaesi Q. Iunius Blaesus, Sejanus' uncle and suffect consul in AD 10 (5.7.2n.), had two sons, of whom one (it is unclear which) has been mentioned at 1.19.4, 1.29.2 and 3.74.2. The elder became *suffectus* in 26 (3.74.2n.), the younger in perhaps 28 (Syme, *AA* 163, *RP* 3.1432). Writing no later than 29, Velleius refers to Sejanus' 'consulares . . . consobrinos' (127.3).

tristibus Caesaris litteris *pro*uinciam sortiri *pro*hibitus Suetonius suggests the reason but omits the method of communication (*Galba* 3.3 'maior Gaius attritis facultatibus urbe cessit prohibitusque a Tiberio sortiri anno suo proconsulatum uoluntaria morte obiit'). Perhaps the most famous case of such prohibition was Agricola, though the method adopted was different from that

here (*Agr.* 42.1–2 and nn.). See also Talbert 350. For *tristibus . . . litteris* cf. 6.9.4 'tristibus notis' (n.); Syme has observed (*Tac.* 345, 426) that the noun *tristitia* is used by T. (at 1.76.4) only of Tib., 'tristissimum (ut constat) hominum' (Plin. *NH* 28.23).

integra eorum domo . . . conuulsa *integra . . . domo* refers to the time before the family's chief members, Blaesus *père* and his nephew Sejanus, were killed; at 1.3.1 the same phrase is used of a family with surviving heirs. The image is that of an actual house before and after an earthquake or similar (for *integer* of buildings etc. cf. *TLL* 7.1.2075.74ff.; for *conuulsa* cf. 12.58.2 'terrae motu conuulsis' and *TLL* 4.818.66ff.). T. elsewhere applies *conuulsa* metaphorically to *domus* (12.1.1, 12.65.2), as does Pliny (*Ep.* 7.19.8 'ac mihi domus ipsa nutare conuulsaque sedibus suis ruitura supra uidetur').

distulerat sc. *Tiberius*: 'had deferred' (*OLD* 4a). The assonantal wordplay of the adjacent sentences ('*con***u**ulsa distulerat, tunc ut **u**acua *con*tulit') seems to emphasise the despatch with which the *princeps* acted.

ut uacua Ruperti in a long note (on 1.3.1) argued that *uacua* is abl. with *domo* and refers to the fact that the Blaesi had no surviving heirs (cf. Sall. *C.* 15.2 'necato filio uacuam domum'). But this neither fits with the apparent image (last n. but one), since a destroyed house is bound to be unoccupied, nor makes good sense, since the absence of heirs is not a reason for withholding priesthoods. *uacua* agrees with *sacerdotia* and means 'vacant' or 'unassigned' (*OLD* 9b).

quod signum mortis intellexere et exsecuti sunt Since *signum* (like 30.3 'indicium mortis') is equivalent to a command, it is simplest to assume that *exsecuti sunt*, which commonly has e.g. *iussum* as object, means that they carried it out. Others supply *mortem*.

40.3 Aemilia Lepida, quam . . . nuptam rettuli She was the daughter of M. Lepidus (cos. AD 6); her marriage to Germanicus' son, which will have been mentioned in the lost part of Book 5, is one of the reasons why her father was described by Velleius as 'uir nomini ac fortunae Caesarum proximus' (114.5 and n.). An inscription (*CIL* 6.9449 = *ILS* 1849) styles her 'Caesaris . . . nurus'. For T.'s cross-references see 6.4.1n. (*ut rettuli*).

***cr*ebris *cr*iminibus maritum insectata** According to Dio (58.3.8) Sejanus had used Lepida so that he could bring charges against Drusus. For *criminibus . . . insectata* see 5.7.2n.

quamquam intestabilis In the sense of *detestabilis* the adj. features principally in the historians since Sallust (*J.* 67.3, *H.* 1.55.1[the speech of Lepida's great-great-grandfather]): see *TLL* 7.2.1.42ff. It recurs in Book 6 in Tib.'s obituary (51.3). For *quamquam* see 6.7.5n. (*nobis*).

dum superfuit pater Lepidus He had died in 33 (27.4 and nn.).

ob seruum adulterum This was the fate with which Lucretia was threatened by Sex. Tarquinius (Liv. 1.58.4, Ov. *F.* 2.809); see Langlands 342.

finem uitae sibi posuit Cf. Sen. *Ag.* 609 'audetque uitae ponere finem'; the first domestic section of the year thus ends with the same words as the last (45.2 'uitae finem').

41–44 Foreign affairs

41.1 Per idem tempus See 5.10.1n., where the same phrase is used to introduce a section of foreign affairs. It is slightly odd that this brief paragraph on the Cietae intervenes before the Parthian narrative resumes at 41.2, but both foreign theatres fell within the jurisdiction of L. Vitellius. There is another episode involving the Cietae at 12.55.1–2, and E. Bacha suggests that one is a duplicate of the other (*Le Génie de Tacite: la création des Annales* (1906) 296); but there is little real similarity between them.

Cietarum natio Cappadoci Archelao subiecta When King Archelaus I of Cappadocia had died at Rome in AD 17, his kingdom was transformed into a province and governed by an equestrian procurator (2.42.4 and n.); but the joint evidence of 2.78.2 (n.) and of the present passage suggests that his son, also called Archelaus (*PIR* 1.200 no. 1024), was allowed to rule over the Cietae, who lived not in Cappadocia but in Cilicia, inland from Anemurium (cf. 12.55.1–2) and Celenderis (2.80.1n.): see *BA* Map 66: B–C3 (K(i)etis). See also R. D. Sullivan, 'The dynasty of Cappadocia', *ANRW* 2.7.2.1125–68 (1980).

quia nostrum in modum deferre census, pati tributa adigebatur 'was being compelled to submit returns and endure tribute in our manner.' *censum deferre* is a technical expr. (*OLD census* 1b, *defero* 7b). *nostrum in modum* 'seems to show . . . that this was not an imposition by the Romans of a census and tribute on the kingdom of a "rex socius", but an attempt by the king to organize his system of taxation on the Roman model' (Furneaux). The situation is thus the converse of that in which rulers sent out from Rome fail to adapt to local conditions (32.2n. *dum*).

locorumque ingenio sese contra imbelles regis copias tutabatur *ingenium loci* is a common phrase in both prose and verse, e.g. Ov. *Ex P.* 2.1.51–2 'atque ea te contra nec muri mole nec armis | nec satis ingenio tuta fuisse loci' (see e.g. H. on *H.* 1.51.2 or Van Dam on Stat. *Silv.* 2.2.44–5); for *locorum* cf. Liv. 28.12.11 'locorum hominumque ingeniis'. For *tutari* see 3.28.1n.

donec M. Trebellius legatus . . . duos colles . . . operibus circumdedit The agricultural writer Columella, who is known from an inscription (*ILS* 2923) to have been military tribune in Legio VI Ferrata in Syria

and from his own work to have spent time in Cilicia and Pamphylia (2.10.18, 11.2.56), refers to a friend as 'M. Trebellius noster' (5.1.2), presumably the same as recorded here as commanding the Syrian force in the Taurus range (see Syme, *RP* 2.760–1). This Trebellius in turn is probably identical with the M. Trebellius Maximus who was consul in 55, conducted a census in Gaul in 61 (cf. 14.46.2) and governed Britain between 63 and 69 (see Birley, *RGB* 52–6). Maximus' description as 'segnior et nullis castrorum experimentis' at *Agr.* 16.3 almost certainly means that he conducted no campaigns in Britain, not that he had no prior military experience at all (see ad loc.): the description therefore cannot be used to deny his identity with the *legatus* mentioned in our passage. See also *PIR* 8.94–5 no. 314; Rüpke 922 no. 3277.

For 'le *donec* de rupture' following an imperf. tense in the main clause see 3.31.4n.

praeside Syriae Vitellius was *legatus consularis* (Suet. *Cal.* 14.3), but T. here and at 12.45.4 prefers 'the convenient but prosaic neologism' *praeses* (Syme, *Tac.* 344): given the term's increasing popularity in literary texts and its frequency in inscriptions (*TLL* 10.2.871.59–873.44), it seems not to be an ex. of T.'s avoidance of official language.

Cadra . . . Dauara It is as mysterious that T. mentions these names (which occur nowhere else) as it is that Dio mentions an otherwise unknown mountain called Alma in Dalmatia (55.30.2). For the *uariatio* of *minori . . . alteri* cf. 46.4, Ov. *F.* 5.509.

erumpere ausos ferro, ceteros siti ad deditionem coegit If the text is right, as most scholars assume, there seem to be two possibilities: *either* (i) a verb such as 'destroyed' has to be supplied with *ferro* by zeugma *or* (ii) *ferro* is condensed for 'by the threat of the sword', i.e. the killing of some of the escapers persuaded the others to surrender. If neither of these possibilities appeals, we need to consider whether a verb such as *cecidit* has been omitted by mistake before *ceteros* (for *ferro cecidit* cf. 11.23.4). The sentence is otherwise unusual too, since the regular verb to accompany *ad deditionem* is *compello* (thus, again with *siti*, Front. *Strat.* 3.7.1 'P. Seruilius Isauram oppidum, flumine ex quo hostes aquabantur auerso, ad deditionem siti conpulit', Flor. 2.13.28, Amm. 21.12.17); the only ex. of *cogo* appears to be Liv. 4.22.4 'expugnandi pariter cogendique ad deditionem spe amissa' (*in deditionem* at 43.1.2). *erumpere* and *eruptio* are technical terms for bursting out of one's position, whether besieged or not (*TLL* 5.2.837.18ff., 846.63ff.).

41.2 At Tiridates The story of Tiridates now resumes from 31–7 above.

Nicephorium et Anthemusiada The elder Pliny records the 'praefectura Mesopotamiae . . . , in qua Anthemusia et Nicephorium oppida' (*NH* 5.86). Nicephorium lay on the northern bank of the Euphrates, just west

of its junction with the modern river Balihu (*BA* Map 91: A2). The other place is more obscure. 'Strictly speaking', says Syme, 'Anthemus was the city (otherwise Batnae), Anthemusia the region, but usage was lax' (*Anatolica* 107, referring to K. Regling, 'Zur historischen Geographie des mesopotamischen Parallelogramms', *Klio* 1 (1901) 450–1). No city named Anthemusia(s) is marked on the relevant maps in *BA* (although the region is tentatively given at Map 67: G–H2–3); but the alternative name Batnae is at Map 67: G3 (see 2.1029).

sitae 'established.' The usage 'seems peculiarly Tacitean' (2.7.2n.).

uocabula usurpant For this relatively rare expr. see H. on *H.* 4.73.3, adding Gell. 13.6 *init.*

Halumque et Artemitam Halus is unknown; Artemita is thought to have been NNE of Seleucia (*BA* Map 91: F4).

certantibus gaudio Livian (3.54.10). See also on 42.3 below.

Scythas inter For the anastrophe see 1.60.3n., 3.43.3n.

come Tiridatis ingenium Romanas per artes sperabant This is a variation on the topos that local barbarians reject an incoming ruler because of his Roman associations (32.2n. *dum*). *come* is predicative: scholars are divided on whether to understand *fore* (so G. on 2.56.4) or whether this is a special use of *spero* + predicative adj. (*OLD* 2c). *come ingenium* is the phrase used by Nepos to describe Dio (1.2) and by Ovid to describe Tibullus (*Tr.* 5.1.18); for the word order see 5.1.3n. (*Sanctitate*).

42.1 ciuitas . . . conditoris Seleuci retinens Seleucia on the Tigris, called Seleucia Magna by Pliny (*NH* 6.43), is described somewhat similarly (but without the chiasmus) at 11.8.3: 'urbis ualidae et munimentis obiecti amnis muroque et commeatibus firmatae' (see Malloch ad loc.). The city was established roughly 20 miles south of mod. Baghdad by Seleucus Nicator, the Macedonian founder of the Seleucid dynasty, around 300 BC. In the first half of the second century BC the Parthians built their capital, Ctesiphon (4 below), on the opposite side of the river (Plin. *NH* 6.122). See *BA* Map 91: F4; *BNP* 13.211–13 [Seleucia 1], with a stemma of the Seleucids on pp. 215–16. The present description constitutes a miniature ethnography which continues to *ualescit* and incorporates the standard elements of physical situation ('saepta muris'), morals ('neque . . . corrupta'), founder ('conditoris Seleuci') and government ('trecenti . . . ualescit'): for these and other topoi see K. Trüdinger, *Studien zur Geschichte der griechisch-römischen Ethnographie* (1918) (topoi listed on p. 175).

retinere memoriam + gen. is a regular expression (as 5.6.3 'ne memoriam nostri . . . retineatis'; H. on *H.* 3.68.2; *OLD retineo* 12a), but in later authors

such as Gellius and Apuleius the verb is used + acc. = 'to remember' without the presence of a word for memory (*OLD* 12b). Our passage *either* illustrates this latter usage *or* exemplifies the meaning 'adhere to' (*OLD* 11) but applied to a person rather than (as *H.* 4.8.5 'retinere morem' and H. ad loc.) a custom etc. *or* is a combination of both of these. For T.'s favourite adjectival form + gen. (*OLD retinens*) see 5.11.1n. (*nisi*).

neque in barbarum corrupta is no doubt to be seen in the context of the proximity of Ctesiphon (last n.): having been a great city of the Seleucid empire, Seleucia retained its Greek identity even after some generations of Parthian rule. *in barbarum* is found elsewhere only at *H.* 5.2.1, where H. remarks that it is a 'Neubildung' of T. on the analogy of *in deterius*, *in maius* etc.: successive commentators repeat the notion that the phrase is equivalent to the Greek εἰς τὸ βαρβαρικόν, as if that were itself a normal expr.; yet it is found only at Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* (22) 3, amongst classical authors. Kiessling's suggestion that *barbarum* is masculine ('*Barbarum* esse masculinum, neque tamen *morem* intelligendum, intellegitur e verbis *conditoris Seleuci retinens*') is difficult to understand.

Trecenti opibus aut sapientia delecti ut senatus Comparisons are frequent in ethnographical contexts (see e.g. F. Hartog, *The mirror of Herodotus* (1988) 225–30): this one is particularly telling since in its early-republican manifestation the Roman senate too comprised 300 members (Liv. 2.1.10), although it has to be remembered that 300 is a rhetorical number, especially for 'groups brought together by . . . human decision and not by chance' (Fehling 222). Wealth, birth and wisdom – either individually or in combination – are the standard criteria for advisory or other types of council.

42.2 quotiens concordes agunt, spernitur Parthus This is the opposite of the Roman concept of *metus hostilis*, according to which a foreign threat ensured domestic harmony. See further below.

accitus . . . ualescit The subject is *Parthus*: 'summoned to help with one faction he gains ascendancy over all'. *ualesco* in its transferred sense is unique to T. (8×); for the form *aduersum* see 3.14.1n.

ex suo usu 'to his own advantage' (*OLD usus* 11c). For *primoribus* (above) see Oakley on Liv. 6.13.8.

***p*opuli imperium iuxta *lib*ertatem, *p*aucorum dominatio regiae *lib*idini *p*ropior est** Häussler (403 n. 77) has said that this passage 'beweist, dass Tacitus auch die klassischen drei Verfassungsformen im Lichte seiner Zweiteilung *libertas-dominatio* sieht', but this is not so: like T.'s other generalisations, this one needs to be interpreted in the light of the context which gives rise to it. T.'s 'Zweiteilung' is of *populi imperium* and *paucorum dominatio*

and is simply a reflection of the Seleucians' bipartite constitution, to which he has already referred (*trecenti . . . delecti* ~ *populo*, *plebem* ~ *primoribus*). Artabanus made the *plebs* subservient to the *primores* because it was in his interests to do so ('ex suo usu'): the reason was (*nam*) that any element of popular power has some connection with freedom, whereas oligarchy more closely resembles the tyrannical rule with which the Parthians were familiar. The statement, in other words, represents an indictment both of the Parthians' antipathy to freedom and of their acquiescence in tyranny. T. makes almost exactly the same points at 13.34.2 when discussing the Armenians' preference for Parthia over Rome: 'similitudine morum Parthis propiores conubiisque permixti ac *libertate ignota illuc magis ad seruitium* inclinantes'.

Although *paucorum dominatio* recalls the language of late-republican politics (Sall. *H.* 3.48.6, the speech of the tribune Macer; cf. *H.* 1.12, Cic. *Leg. Agr.* 3.13; on *pauci* generally see Hellegouarc'h 443–6), T. is in fact imitating Thuc. 3.62.3 ἐγγυτάτω δὲ τυράννου, δυναστεία ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν, as Ernesti seems to have been the first to point out. These words are part of a speech in which the Thebans defend themselves against the accusation of medising, and it is arguable that T.'s imitation continues into their next sentence: καὶ οὗτοι ἰδίας δυνάμεις ἐλπίσαντες ἔτι μᾶλλον σχήσειν εἰ τὰ τοῦ Μήδου κρατήσειε, κατέχοντες ἰσχύι τὸ πλῆθος ἐπηγάγοντο αὐτόν. T.'s use of the collective singular *Parthus* is exactly parallel to Thucydides' τοῦ Μήδου (the Latinised form of which was synonymous with 'Parthian': see N–H on Hor. *C.* 2.1.31); *plebem primoribus tradidit* expresses in different words the notion that the Theban oligarchs 'held down the people by force' (τὸ πλῆθος being the regular term by which Greek writers rendered *plebs*); and *subsidium uocant* is an exact rendering of ἐπηγάγοντο. The relationship of the Greek Seleucians to the Parthians is modelled on that of the Thebans to the Persians; but, whereas T. presents the former from the viewpoint of the outsiders, the Thebans describe the latter from the viewpoint of the oligarchs.

In the context of the Roman constitution *populi imperium* is a contradiction in terms: *imperium* is exclusively the power of a magistrate, and exceptions are rare and limited to special circumstances (*TLL* 7.1.575.69–77). One notable case is the speech of Canuleius (Liv. 4.5.1 'utrum tandem populi Romani an uestrum summum imperium est?'), which T. knew well (Malloch on 11.23–25.1, pp. 341–2), but usually such expressions as *populi Romani imperium* refer to the jurisdiction of the Roman people over provincials and other foreigners (thus at 1.2.2). *regia libido* is a Ciceronian phrase (*Rab. Post.* 1, 25) taken over by Livy (27.31.7) and Seneca (fr. 34H = 68V); see also 1.1n. For the antithesis *libertas* ~ *libido* only 4.35.1 is quoted by Wölfflin 264; cf. also e.g. Cic. *De Or.* 3.4, [Sall.] *Inv. Cic.* 3, Liv. 3.45.8, 8.28.1, 27.31.5. For the double *uariatio* of positive ~ comparative and prep. ~ adj. cf. *G.* 30.3 'uelocitas iuxta formidinem, cunctatio propior constantiae est'.

42.3 Tum aduentantem Tiridaten extollunt A constant feature of barbarian societies (cf. 2.1.1 'accepere barbari laetantes, ut ferme ad noua imperia' of the Parthians, 11.16.2 'primo laetus Germanis aduentus', 12.29.1 'prima imperii aetate clarus acceptusque' of the Suebi): see also 31.1n. (*Is*), 32.2n. (*dum*).

quos recens aetas largius inuenit Commentators note the similar sentiment at 4.9.2 'plerisque additis, ut ferme amat posterior adulatio'. See also 45.2n.

probra . . . fundebant This use of *fundo* (again at 14.30.1) is extremely common, esp. but not exclusively in verse: see *TLL* 6.1.1566.45ff. (note *opprobria* at Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.146, *conuicia* at Ov. *Met.* 13.306, Sen. *Med.* 113).

42.4 Phraatis et Hieronis, qui ualidissimas praefecturas obtinebant *praefectura* is T.'s regular term for the administrative divisions of the Parthian empire known as 'satrapies': see G–G 1161b, Malloch on 11.8.3. It is conjectured that Phraates ruled from the city of Susa (*BA* Map 3: E3) and that the region of Carmania (36.4n. *in longinqua*) was governed by Hiero (Olbrycht 226). The two individuals are unknown outside the present episode.

breuem moram precantium For the 'verbal hyperbaton' see 3.1.1n.

Ctesiphon, sedes imperii On the opposite bank of the Tigris from Seleucia (above, 1n. *ciuitas*): according to Pliny 'nunc caput est regnorum' of the Parthians (*NH* 6.122). *sedes imperii* is less common than one might think (Cic. *Leg. Agr.* 1.18, 1.24, Liv. 8.5.6).

diem ex die prolatabant *diem (–es) prolatare* is first in Sall. *C.* 43.3 and then Sil. 3.142, Stat. *Ach.* 2.2. *diem ex die* occurs after a transitive verb also at Cic. *Att.* 7.26.3 (so Shackleton Bailey ad loc.) and Caes. *G.* 1.16.4; for the phrase *in diem ex die* see Cato, *Or.* fr. 53, Cic. *Ep. Brut.* 2.1.1. Adams (1973b) notes that polyptoton in the *Annals* is found mainly in speeches: this 'striking' example is one of the exceptions (124 and n. 14).

multis coram et adprobantibus 'with many present and registering their approval': for the *uariatio* see Sörbom 96.

Surena This is the only occurrence in classical Latin of this form of the name for the 'head of the Sūrēn clan' (Olbrycht 226); the alternative form *Surenas* occurs at Flor. 1.46.8 and Liv. *per.* 106. See also *BNP* 13.957.

43.1 oppressa cunctantium dubitatio et omnes in unum cedebant In a 'mixed' condition, as here, 'what might have happened is vividly presented as fact' by means of the pluperfect indicative (*NLS* 200 (iii)), a vividness here emphasised by the ellipse of *erat*; the imperfect suggests a circumstance

which had already begun and would have continued had it not been for the action of the conditional clause (Carmody 139–40).

adsidendo castellum in quod . . . contulerat It is a topos that barbarians are easily diverted by the prospect of loot (3.20.1n.).

exuendi pacta T.'s favoured metaphor of discarding (1.2.1n.; G–G 436a–7b) seems not to be exactly paralleled with *pactum*, but cf. Claud. *Bell. Get.* 363–4 'foedera gentes | exuerant'.

capiendo diademati The verb is technical of putting on clothing and the like (*OLD* 2).

inuidia in Abdagaesen, qui tum aula et nouo rege potiebatur For Tiridates' senior adviser see 36.2, 37.3. *inuidia in* + acc., instead of the more usual gen., appears to be confined to T. (again at 1.41.3).

ad Artabanum uertere The only other ex. of *uerto* intrans. = 'to transfer one's loyalty' seems to be Sil. 16.178 (*OLD* 15b). That *uertere* is perfect is suggested by the favoured dispondaic clausula which is thereby generated.

43.2 in Hyrcanis See 36.4n.

inluuie obsitus et alimenta arcu expediens The snapshot is certainly vivid, but Martin's contention that *obsitus* is 'a word much commoner in verse than in prose' is not borne out by the evidence (*TLL* 9.2.191.66ff.). It recurs with *inluuie* at 4.28.1: the expr. is otherwise unparalleled, but cf. Ter. *Heaut.* 294–5 'pannis obsita, | neclecta, inmunda inluuie'. *expediens* = 'supplying, providing' (*OLD* 6a).

There seems general agreement (see e.g. Koestermann, Martin, Olbrycht 224–5) that Artabanus' withdrawal was merely tactical and that T.'s colourful picture of the king's plight is literary exaggeration, whether his own or that of his source(s): 'Das psychologische Porträt des wieder zur Macht kommenden Herrschers ist ein künstlerisches Meisterwerk des Tacitus, aber historisch ganz unglaubwürdig. Artabanus gleicht dem verstossenen Prinzen des Märchens, der durch Glück, Geschick und Mut seinen Thron erobert. Man wird nicht ernsthaft glauben wollen, dass der selbstbewusste, erfahrene Herrscher erschrickt, als man ihm die Krone anbieten kommt! Die Quelle des Tacitus muss hier ein romanähnlicher Bericht über die Taten des Artabanus gewesen sein' (Walser 151). In fact, as Prof. Courtney suggests, T.'s references to squalor and to keeping alive with the bow suggest above all Philoctetes, who was described by Euripides as a beggar (see Ar. *Ach.* 423–4) and by Sophocles as a bowman. The hero's portrayal by the three tragedians was the subject of a discussion by T.'s contemporary, Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 52).

adleuatur animum et . . . exquirit *adleuare animum* or the personal passive (e.g. Cic. *Att.* 12.39.2 'adleuor') are regular (*TLL* 1.1675.7ff.); the acc. of

respect seems unparalleled. T. may have derived *repentina mutatio* from Liv. 33.17.2, but cf. also Petron. 19.1, Apul. *Met.* 3.9.7.

43.3 inane nomen apud imbellem externa mollitia *inane nomen*, a common expr. in both prose and verse, here refers back to *imperium* (cf. Luc. 5.389–90 'nomen inane | imperii'): 'and *imperium* did not lie with an Arsacid but was an empty name in the hands of an *imbellis* of foreign softness'.

44.1 Sensit . . . non fingere *falsos in amore*, perhaps an echo of Cic. *Phil.* 11.5 'falsi indices . . . in amore simulato', is concessive: 'the veteran ruler realised that, though false in their affection, they were not fabricating their hatred'. Artabanus had now been king for roughly a quarter of a century. *uetus* + gen. is a speciality of T. and Silius (12.2n. *scientiae*): for the gerund cf. Sil. 6.616 'bellandi uetus'.

nec ultra moratus quam dum . . . conciret 'and delaying only to . . . ' (lit. 'and delaying no longer than until he could round up . . . '): the constr. is unique to T. (Malloch on 11.26.3).

***p*ergit *p*roperus** Perhaps from Sall. *J.* 71.4 'propere . . . pergit', with T.'s favourite poetic use of the adj. (5.1.2n. *adeo*) substituted for the adverb. The words introduce a remarkably alliterative and assonantal sequence.

neque exuerat paedorem ut uulgum miseratione aduerteret *paedor* is usually used of prisoners, mourners or the ill or dying; our passage is evidently the only exception in classical Latin (*TLL* 10.1.36.66–7). *aduerto*, one of T.'s favourite verbs in various senses, here means 'to attract the loyalty of' (cf. *TLL* 1.864.3off.); *miseratione* = 'by their taking pity on him'. For the less usual acc. form *uulgum* see 3.76.1n.

44.2 Iamque . . . propinqua Seleuciae aduentabat, cum Tiridates . . . distrahi consiliis For *iam* + imperf. to introduce *cum* + historic infin. see e.g. 11.34.2 and Malloch ad loc. (and on 11.26.1), *H.* 3.31.1. The historic infinitive, which T. favours in this construction (see also 2.31.1n.), here has its inceptive nuance: 'and he was already approaching the outskirts of Seleucia with a substantial force when Tiridates started to be torn between two plans: should he march against him or . . . '. The point is that Tiridates has been overtaken by events.

aduentare + acc., though found with the proper name *Romam* at Sall. *J.* 28.2 and Vell. 59.6, is otherwise first here before such later authors as Gellius and Ammianus (*TLL* 1.836.51–5); *propinqua* has a somewhat similar history (6.1.1n. *saepe*): it is impossible to know whether *Seleuciae* is dat. (like 4.65, 4.74.3) or illustrates the common use of a gen. after a neut. plur. (3.1.3n., adding Oakley on Liv. 6.32.5). M's *percussus*, retained by Lenchantin, is scarcely defended by Apul. *Met.* 8.6.4 'Fama dilabitur et cursus primos ad domum Tlepolemi

detorquet et aures infelicis nuptae percutit', where Fama is heavily personified; Rhenanus' *perculsus* seems altogether more likely and is Livian (9.44.13). *ipso*, contrasting with *fama* (sc. *Artabani*), alludes to the effectiveness of A.'s mere arrival (a topos: see Vell. 75.1n.); *Artabano* (without *ab*) indicates A.'s unawareness of the effect which he had had on Tiridates (*NLS* §44): this is slightly different from translating 'by the appearance of Artabanus' (G. on 2.79.1, following Nipperdey–Andresen). *multa manu* is presumably a 'military ablative of accompaniment', although it is an exception to the rule that the verb should be intransitive (37.3n. *Ornospades*).

an bellum cunctatione tractaret That these words mean 'or drag out the war by delaying' seems certain from their antithesis, *iret contra*. The only parallel for *tractare* in this sense is Coel. Antip. F20C = 16P 'illis facilius est bellum tractare', which Macrobius explains by saying 'hoc est diu trahere' (*GL* 5.651). H. on *H.* 4.73.2 notes the Coelius passage but, like Briscoe (*FRH* 3.251), assumes it is unique; not so G., however (1.59.3n., p. 86 n. 2).

44.3 proelium et . . . casus Cf. *H.* 1.2.1 'opus adgredior opimum casibus, atrox proeliis', Suet. *DJ* 89.1 'alius alio casu . . . , pars proelio'.

longinquitate itineris fessos Perhaps a *contaminatio* of the Livian (42.65.1 'longinquitate itineris'; see 3.5.2n.) and the Sallustian (*J.* 68.3 'fessos itineris magnitudine').

ne animo quidem . . . coaluisse This is a variation on the Livian *animi coalescunt* (2.48.1, 23.35.9). The Parthians' alleged moral disunity is explained by the following *proditores nuper hostesque*, just as their alleged physical dispersal (*disiectos*) was explained by *longinquitate itineris fessos*.

proditores nuper hostesque Though used elsewhere (e.g. Liv. 44.24.8), this combination of slurs (again at 12.8.1, 16.28.2) is found esp. in Ciceronian invective (*Pis.* 24, 31, 78, *Vat.* 25, *Sull.* 88, *Sest.* 17, 35): see I. Opelt, *Die lateinischen Schimpfwörter und verwandte sprachliche Erscheinungen* (1965) 129–35.

rursum For the form see 3.15.2n.

44.4 amne obiecto Presumably the Tigris.

Armeniis interim Elymaeisque et ceteris a tergo excitis If Tiridates was being advised to travel NW from Seleucia/Ctesiphon into the hinterland of Mesopotamia (above), Armenia lay to the NNE, but Elymaeis was a mountainous region to the SE, beyond Seleucia/Ctesiphon, in the direction from which he would have come (*BA* Map 3: E–F3). *ceteris a tergo excitis* can therefore refer only to *Elymaeis*.

ignauus ad pericula This construction (again at 2.78.2, *H.* 1.79.2) is found first in Livy (9.4.8; then Sen. *Ep.* 24.9).

44.5 fugae specie Again Livian (22.32.3 'cum fugae specie abeundum').

donec . . . in Syriam reuectus *p*udore *p*roditionis omnes exsoluit Since the Roman province of Syria was at present being governed by L. Vitellius (32.3), T. was perhaps subconsciously reminded of the language he had used earlier for an episode in the life of the man's son (*H.* 3.61.3 'donec . . . ad Vitellium regressi pudore proditionis cunctos exsoluerent');[118] *pudor proditionis* recurs nowhere else, though *pudore exsoluere* is at *G.* 24.2.

Dio in a flashback (59.27.2–3) says that Artabanus had in fact planned to attack Syria but was forestalled by Vitellius, who forced him to a summit meeting on the Euphrates (see also 31.2n. *nomine*). The meeting is also attested by Josephus (*AJ* 18.101–3) and Suetonius (*Cal.* 14.3 (with Hurley ad loc.), *Vit.* 2.4), but whether it took place in the reign of Tib. or Caligula is disputed. On all this see Olbrycht 227–34.

45.1–2 Domestic affairs

45.1 Idem annus graui igne urbem adficit, deusta parte circi T. tends to place disasters at the end of a year regardless of their actual chronology (Keitel, *AHC* 333–4), but this fire, which is also mentioned very briefly by Dio (58.26.5), broke out on 1 November amongst the basket-makers (EJ p. 43 'k. Nou. pars Circi inter uitores arsit, quod T[i.] Caesar HS ∞ public. [d.]'), perhaps the same area as the great fire of 64 (15.38.2). Earlier fires are mentioned in 22 (3.72.2) and 27 (4.64.1 'ignis uiolentia urbem ultra solitum adfecit, deusto monte Caelio'); for the constant problem of fires at Rome see Courtney on Juv. 3.7; O. F. Robinson, 'Fire prevention at Rome', *Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité* 24 (1977) 377–88. T. regularly makes *annus* the subject of a transitive verb, e.g. 4.15.1 'idem annus alio quoque luctu Caesarem adfecit', *Agr.* 7.1 (and n.); G–G 82b.

quod damnum Caesar ad gloriam uertit exsolutis domuum et insularum pretiis That is, the *princeps* reimbursed (*OLD exsoluo* 5a) individuals for the price of the property they had lost, his financial rescue act in the penultimate year of Book 6 mirroring his similar act in the second year (17.3); the total amount involved was the same, except that the former was merely a loan, whereas this is a gift. *ad gloriam uertere* need not refer to deliberate exploitation but may simply indicate the inevitable consequences of an action: the latter is the case at 13.32.3, where Pomponia Graecina's mourning garb redounded to her credit, but the former at 2.84.1, where Tib. glories in the birth of twin grandsons. G. not unreasonably understands the present passage as 'laudatory' (on 2.84.1), but one cannot be sure (next n.). No other author uses the expr.

[118] These two passages are used by Chausserie-Laprée (625–6; cf. 624) to illustrate the point that T. uses the indic. and subjunc. indifferently after *donec*.

in munificentia ea conlocatum T. has attributed this virtue to Tib. on several occasions (1.46.2, 2.26.1, 4.64.2): see also Vell. 126.4 'fortuita non ciuium tantummodo sed urbium damna principis munificentia uindicat' (n.), written before AD 30. According to Suetonius (*Tib.* 48.1), the *princeps* 'publice munificentiam bis omnino exhibuit', and he illustrates the point with Tib.'s aid in 27 (the fire on the Caelian Hill) and 33 (the financial crisis). Suet. alleges that Tib. made so much of his *beneficium* on the former occasion that he ordered the hill to be renamed the Augustan Hill; but T., who describes the same fire, says that the renaming was proposed by the senate because a statue of Tib. had miraculously survived the fire unscathed (4.64.3). For the scarce appearance of *munificentia* on imperial coinage see Noreña 156. *conlocare* in financial contexts normally means 'invest' (as 17.1 'in agris . . . conlocaret'): here the meaning is instead taken to be 'was spent' (glossed as *erogatum* in *TLL* 3.1645.42–3), although T. is perhaps being cynically metaphorical: the *princeps* 'invested' in his munificence in order to obtain a return in *gloria*.

tanto acceptius in uulgum 'all the more welcome to the public.' The point is that Tib., restrained in his private and public building alike, might not have been expected to disburse a large sum on replacing the destroyed houses and apartment blocks. For the lack of a comparative in the corresponding *quanto*-clause see 1.57.1n.

ne publice quidem nisi duo opera struxit, templum Augusto et scaenam Pompeiani theatri These are the two canonical public buildings of Tib.'s principate: cf. Vell. 130.1 'quam pia munificentia superque humanam euecta fidem templum patri molitur! quam magnifico animi temperamento Cn. quoque Pompei munera absumpta igni restituit!' (and n. there on the *liberalitas* and *munificentia* expected of a *princeps*), Suet. *Tib.* 47 'princeps neque opera ulla magnifica fecit (nam et quae sola susceperat, Augusti templum restitutionemque Pompeiani theatri, imperfecta post tot annos reliquit)', *Cal.* 21. T. had mentioned the temple to Augustus at 1.10.8; Dio adds that Tib. was joined by his mother Livia in its construction (56.46.3). It seems to have been located near the temple of Castor and Pollux, NW of the Palatine (Suet. *Cal.* 22.4); see *LTUR* 1.145–6. T. had earlier also mentioned the rebuilding of Pompey's theatre in the Campus Martius, which had been destroyed by fire in 22 (3.72.2 and nn.); according to Dio (60.6.8) Claudius in 41 inscribed Tib.'s name on its *scaena* because it was he who had rebuilt it after the fire. See *LTUR* 5.35–8 and, for an archaeological survey, M. C. Gagliardo and J. E. Packer, 'A new look at Pompey's Theatre: history, documentation, and recent excavation', *AJA* 110 (2006) 93–122. In general on T.'s description of Tib.'s relationship with the city of Rome and its buildings see A. M. Gowing, 'Urbs Roma: Tacitus on Tiberius and the City', in P. B. Harvey and C. Conybeare

(edd.), *Maxima debetur magistro reverentia: Essays on Rome and the Roman tradition in honor of R. T. Scott* (2009) 93–106.

eaque perfecta . . . haud dedicauit Suetonius says that the two buildings were left 'imperfecta' (last n.) or 'semiperfecta' and completed by Caligula (*Cal.* 21); but Dio (59.7.1–2) says that the temple was dedicated by Caligula on the last day of August AD 37, i.e. little over five months after Tib.'s death.

contemptu ambitionis an per senectutem In AD 25 a request for a temple dedicated to the *princeps* and his mother in Spain had been rejected by Tib. partly on the grounds that it would be 'ambitiosum, superbum' (4.37.3); but his rejection had prompted criticism in some quarters and an unfavourable comparison with Augustus (4.38.5 'melius Augustum, qui sperauerit. cetera principibus statim adesse: unum insatiabiliter parandum, prosperam sui memoriam: nam *contemptu famae* contemni uirtutes'). Whether similar motivation was operating in the present circumstances, or whether it was simply the *princeps*' old age (he was now in his late seventies: 50.5n. *octauo*), was unclear. Of these two alternatives Martin says that, 'less usually, the more discreditable motive is offered first'; but this depends upon the focalisation: some may think that contempt for *ambitio* is an excellent motive, as when Pliny refers to Trajan's 'contemptor ambitionis . . . animus' (*Pan.* 55.9). T. has already told us that Tib. refused to replace Pompey's name with his own on the repaired theatre (3.72.2), a characteristic example of his *moderatio* which nevertheless had Augustan precedent (*RG* 20.1 'Pompeium theatrum . . . refeci sine ulla inscriptione nominis mei') and which extended to other (re-)buildings as well (Dio 57.10.2). For the (common) *uariatio* which expresses the alternatives see Sörbom 84–5; for T.'s use of *senectus/senecta* see 3.23.1n.

45.2 quattuor progeneri Caesaris . . . delecti A similar ad hoc committee had been formed in AD 20 to deal with the unintended consequences of the Lex Papia Poppaea (3.28.4). Cn. Domitius, *ordinarius* in 32 (6.1.1n.), was husband of the younger Agrippina (4.75); Cassius Longinus and M. Vinicius were *ordinarii* in 30 and married respectively to Drusilla and Julia Livilla, daughters of Germanicus (15.1n.); Rubellius Blandus, *suffectus* in 18, was husband of Julia, daughter of Tib.'s son Drusus (27.1n.).

P. Petronius *Suffectus* in 19 (3.49.1n.).

pro ingenio cuius<que> quaesiti decretique in principem honores A similar statement accompanied the conferring of honours on the dead Germanicus (2.83.1 'honores, ut quis amore in Germanico aut ingenio ualidus, reperti decretique'). T. is making an unspoken point about *adulatio*, which increasingly required the exercise of the senators' imagination: cf. 3.57.1 'quaesitior adulatio fuit. nec tamen repertum nisi ut effigies principum, aras

deum, templa et arcus aliaque solita censerent' (n.), 14.64.3 'si quod senatus consultum adulatione nouum'. See Vielberg 99–100.

quos omiserit receperitue The honours voted to Germanicus (last n.) have a similarly inconsequential conclusion (2.83.4 'pleraque manent; quaedam statim omissa sunt aut uetustas obliterauit'). The use of the perfect subjunc. instead of the pluperf. after *fuit* places readers at the time of the action (*repraesentatio*) and invites them to experience the confusion caused by Tib.'s approaching death.

in incerto This expr. is common in, but by no means restricted to, the historians; and, although it is more frequent in T. (14×) than in any other author, a second statement of uncertainty, following almost immediately after the alternatives mentioned at 1 above, seems entirely appropriate for this *princeps* as the penultimate year of his life draws to its close.

45.3–51 THE YEAR AD 37

Domestic affairs

As recently as two years previously T. sought to provide his readers with temporary respite from the *domestica mala* of the Tiberian principate (38.1). Now at last, after six books and twenty-three years of Tiberian narrative, we arrive at the year for which we have been waiting: Tib.'s final year, and the year which will close the first hexad of the *Annals*. The reader's impatience, of which Livy was so well aware in his own case (*praef.* 4 'legentium plerisque . . . festinantibus'), finds its response in the text: this is the only year which is joined to its predecessor by a connecting particle (45.3n.), as if the closural momentum established at the end of AD 36 (45.2 'propinquum uitae finem') cannot be interrupted by the conventional annalistic formula of the succeeding year (~ 45.3 'Neque *enim* multo post supremi Tiberio consules . . . ').

The narrative of Tib.'s final year is constructed on a double 'ring' principle: it begins on Capri (45.3–46.5), where Macro is masterminding Caligula's eventual succession (45.3), and closes at the opposite end of the Bay of Naples at Misenum (50), where Macro ensures Caligula's succession by smothering the ailing *princeps* (50.5). Within this frame we are given events at Rome (47–9), of which the treason trials (47–8) are also constructed on a 'ring' principle (47.1 Laelius Balbus, 2 Albucilla ~ 48.4 Albucilla, Laelius Balbus), the death speech of Arruntius comprising their centrepiece (48.2). Appended to these trials is an episode of incest and suicide (49), just as the *princeps*' famous obituary notice is appended to the outer frame (50.5–51.3: see below, pp. 287–301).

Fittingly for Tib.'s final year, deceit constitutes a major theme. At the start of the year Macro enlists a third party, his wife Ennia, to feign affection for

Caligula (45.3 *imitando*), although neither of them realises that Caligula has seen through their deception, his expertise at recognising pretence having been taught by Tib. himself (*simulationum . . . falsa*). In the final episode Tib. attempts to hide his weakened state (50.1 *dissimulatio*, *quaesita*, *tegebat*) but fails, whereupon Macro again enlists a third party, the physician Charicles, to find out exactly how ill the *princeps* is. Macro relies on pretence (50.2 *uelut*, *per speciem*) to take Tib.'s pulse, but the master pretender sees through his deception and responds with his own pretence in turn (50.3 *quasi*).

Although the *princeps*' death hangs over the narrative from the very beginning (45.3 'supremi Tiberio consules', 48.2 'suprema principis', 50.2 'supremis'), the reader's attention is simultaneously directed towards the future (e.g. 46.2 *posteros*, 46.3 *prouidus futurorum*, 46.4 *praedixit*, 47.1 *futuris . . . caedibus*, 48.2 *imminentis iuuentam*, *instantia*, 48.3 *uatis in modum*). We may have been awaiting Tib.'s death, but there is worse to come with Caligula.

45.3 Neque enim multo post supremi Tiberio consules . . . magistratum occepere No other narrative year in the extant *Annals* begins with an inferential particle such as *enim*, although AD 65 begins with the temporal *deinde* (15.48.1 'Ineunt deinde consulatum . . . ') and AD 20 incorporates an explanatory parenthesis after the year's start (3.2.3 'iam enim magistratum occeperant', where see n. on the Livian phraseology). The 'sympathetic dative' *Tiberio* is to be taken equally with *supremi* and *consules*: as candidates for office the consuls will have been Tib.'s own commendations, as Ruperti implies, and they were the last whom he would actually see in post. We know that they remained in office until 1 July, when they were succeeded by Caligula and the future emperor, Claudius. For Cn. Acerronius Proculus see *RE* 1.154–5 = Acerronius 2 (von Rohden), *PIR* 1.4–5 no. 32, *BNP* 1.66 [Acerronius 1]; for C. Petronius Pontius Nigrinus see *RE* 22.40–1 = Pontius 40 (Hanslik), *PIR* 6.346–7 no. 812, *BNP* 11.597 [Pontius II 5].

nimia iam potentia Macronis *nimia potentia* (again at 2.34.4, *H.* 2.10.2 [where H.'s n. is misleading], 2.92.1) was a favourite expr. of Cicero (*Rep.* 1.68, *Caec.* 71, *Rosc. Am.* 122) and recurs at Sen. *Contr.* 7.8.1, Val. Max. 6.2.6, 6.2.9, Plin. *NH* 14.51, Suet. *Aug.* 69.1, Flor. 2.13.8. For Macro see 15.2n.

impuleratque . . . uxorem suam Enniam . . . iuuenem inlicere pactoque matrimonii uincire According to Dio (58.28.4), Ennia's full name was Ennia Thrasylla; Cichorius suggested that she was the granddaughter of Tib.'s astrologer, Thrasyllus (20.2n. *cuius*): see *PIR* 3.79 no. 65. Since it is not immediately obvious how Caligula's future marriage to Ennia would benefit her present husband, Macro, there needs to be much reading

between the lines.[119] Presumably Ennia, thinking she had won Caligula's affection by pretending to be in love with him ('imitando amorem'), promised him falsely that she would use her feminine wiles to persuade Macro to facilitate Caligula's succession and that, once his succession had been achieved, she would abandon Macro and marry Caligula. What she did not realise was that, while she thought she was playing Caligula, he was playing her ('simulationum . . . falsa'). Dio's version (loc. cit.) agrees with that of T. to the extent that he has Macro using Ennia to win Caligula's affection and that Tib. is aware of it (cf. 46.1 below); but in his version Caligula is genuine in reciprocating Ennia's apparent affection. Suetonius has the story almost exactly the other way round (*Cal.* 12.2). In his version Caligula seduced Ennia with a view to getting close to Macro and winning his favour, giving Ennia a written promise of marrying her if he should succeed Tib. According to the contemporary Philo (*Leg. Gai.* 38–40), Ennia herself used her influence with her husband in order to win his support for Caligula (with whom, it is to be inferred, she was genuinely in love). The various versions are compared and discussed in speculative fashion by Birley 145–8. Macro and Ennia were forced to commit suicide in 38 (Dio 59.10.6).

For *impello* + infin. (first in the Augustan poets and Livy) see H. on *H.* 3.4.2; *TLL* 7.1.540.67–77. *imitari amorem* (*-es*) is surprisingly rare (Colum. 10.205, Sen. *Med.* 398); for T.'s use of abl. gerund + acc. object see 23.2n. (*cum*).

mortem Claudiae No reason for her early death is given by T. or Philo (*Leg. Gai.* 62), but Suetonius says childbirth (*Cal.* 12.2); the date is unknown.

quam nuptam ei rettuli At 20.1 (AD 33); for cross-references see 4.1n. (*ut rettuli*).

nihil *a*bnuentem *d*um *d*ominationis *a*pisceretur The reason why Caligula might have rejected Ennia was that she was not of noble birth: such a union would have been a matter of socio-political regret (cf. 27.1). For T.'s expression cf. 12.30.2 'dum adipiscerentur dominationes', illustrating his increasing use of *adipiscor* in the later books (cf. 3.1n. *ut*); *apiscor* + gen. is only here (*TLL* 2.239.44–5; see also 3.55.1n.).

commotus ingenio In the light of other passages (1.33.3 'paulo commotior', 4.3.2 'animo commotior', 11.12.1 'tunc commotior') commentators seem agreed that the present phrase does not denote Caligula's insanity, 'which was a later development' (Furneaux). Yet Caligula's madness is part of the tradition (13.3.2 'C. Caesaris turbata mens', *H.* 4.48.1 'turbidus animi') and *commotus* can be used of 'a frenzied or deranged mind' (*OLD commotus* 1c);

[119] Bach was puzzled by the vulgate *matrimonii* and proposed *pactoque patrimonio* (which he interpreted to mean 'the promise of the principate'); but his envisaged scenario seems no clearer than that outlined in the note.

unless T. was referring to madness, underlining the bizarre fact that two of the three candidates for the succession were believed to have mental problems (cf. 46.1 'Claudio . . . imminuta mens'), it is difficult to see why he used the phrase (which is unparalleled, but cf. Sen. *Const. Sap.* 10.3 'ingenia . . . commouentur', Amm. 22.10.3 'commotioris ingenii').

46.1 Gnarum hoc principi As Pfitzner remarks, *hoc* cannot refer to the immediately preceding *nam . . . perdidicerat*: it refers not just to Caligula (Walther) but to his relationship with Macro and their respective ambitions and deceptions (Ruperti). For passive *gnarus* see 1.5.2n.

dubitauit de tradenda re publica primum inter nepotes Although *dubitare de* + abl. is relatively common (*TLL* 5.1.2094.21–31) and is used by T. elsewhere (2.65.2, 15.25.2, *H.* 4.56.1), it was not the transmission of the *res publica* that was in doubt but the person to whom it should be transmitted. The meaning is therefore likely to be: 'concerning the handing over of the commonwealth he wavered first of all between his grandsons'. *dubitare inter* (again at 12.32.1) seems paralleled only at Sall. *H.* 2.93 'inter illum Pompeiumque . . . dubitauerant'. On this passage in general see Y. Klaassen, 'Contested successions: the transmission of imperial power in Tacitus' *Histories* and *Annals*' (diss. Nijmegen, 2014) 230–6.

Druso genitus sanguine et caritate propior It was no doubt natural that Tiberius Gemellus, being Tib.'s biological grandson, should be preferred (cf. Cic. *Off.* 1.54 'sanguinis . . . coniunctio et beneuolentia deuincit homines et caritate'): Philo (*Leg. Gai.* 24–5) and Josephus (*AJ* 18.188, 211–19) agree with T. in this respect. According to Dio, however, Tib. did not believe Gemellus to be Drusus' son and thus wanted Caligula to be his successor (57.22.4b, 58.8.1, 23.1–4). See *RE* 10.536–7 = Iulius 156 (Gardthausen), *PIR* 4.189–90 no. 226; Kienast 83.

nondum pubertatem ingressus Under AD 19 T. reported that Livi(ll)a gave birth to twin boys (2.84.1), Tiberius Gemellus and Germanicus, of whom the latter died in 23 (4.15.1). If that date of birth is correct, Gemellus would now be well past puberty. Many scholars resolve the discrepancy between the two passages by noting that Gemellus had not yet adopted the *toga uirilis*, a ritual which did not occur until after Tib.'s death (Suet. *Cal.* 15.2; cf. 14.1), and by assuming that that is the point of T.'s expression here. But Goodyear (ad loc.) dismisses this assumption and, observing that Gemellus' youth at this time is stressed also in Philo (*Leg. Gai.* 23, 27) and Dio (59.1.2), argues that T. may have advanced the twins' birth 'by at least two years' (i.e. they were born in 21 at the earliest).

ingredior is technical for entering upon a stage of life (*OLD* 3a), as Val. Max. 5.4.2 'uixdum annos pubertatis ingressum'.

robur iuuentae This phrase (again at 14.52.4) seems to have been originally Livian (33.33.3) and was then picked up by Silius (8.585); later at [Quint.] *Decl. Min.* 258.5, *Decl. Mai.* 4.17. Caligula was born on 31 August AD 12.

uulgi studia Caligula has evidently inherited the popularity of his father (1.33.2 'in Germanicum fauor', 2.41.2–3), who had used his infant son for the purposes of currying favour (1.41.2 'ad concilianda uulgi studia'). *uulgi studia*, here chiastic with *robur iuuentae*, is a phrase exclusive to T. (again at 12.3.2, 12.41.2).

Etiam de Claudio agitanti Claudius occupies his usual position as an 'afterthought' (see 3.18.3nn.). In general on him see J. Osgood, *Claudius Caesar: image and power in the early Roman empire* (2011).

composita aetate 'of a placid age' (as 13.1.1, [Quint.] *Decl.* 306.18); Claudius had been born on 1 August 10 BC.

bonarum artium cupiens 'T. has few clearer archaisms than *cupiens* + genitive' (G. on 1.75.2, with details). *bonae artes* here are presumably 'the liberal arts' (*OLD ars* 6a), a reference to Claudius' cultural pursuits (for which see Suet. *Claud.* 41–2 with Hurley's nn.), rather than 'good qualities'. Likewise Sen. *Cons. Helv.* 9.4 'neque umquam cupidiorem bonarum artium quam illo tempore' (of Marcellus, cos. 51 BC).

imminuta mens . . . obstitit For Claudius' reputation as somehow mentally defective see e.g. 11.28.2 'hebetem Claudium' (and Malloch on 11.2.2), 12.67.1 'socordia', Suet. *Claud.* 2.1 'tenacibus morbis conflictatus est . . . animo simul et corpore hebetato'. *imminuta mens* is from Sall. *J.* 65.1 'morbis confectus et ob eam causam mente paulum imminuta' (later cf. Gell. 15.2.4 'imminuere hominum mentes'); for *obstitit* cf. Cic. *Cat.* 1.15 'sceleri ac furori tuo non mentem aliquam . . . obstitisse'.

46.2 ne . . . in ludibria et contumelias uerterent For Tib.'s well known devotion to Augustus and his example see above, 6.3.2n. (*repperisse*). For *ludibria et contumelias* (again at 16.26.1, *H.* 3.66.4) cf. Liv. 41.10.10, Plin. *Ep.* 3.14.5, [Quint.] *Decl.* 255.10; for intrans. *uerto* see *OLD* 21a.

illi non *p*erinde curae gratia *p*raesentium quam in *p*osteros ambitio This presumably means 'he was concerned not so much with the goodwill of contemporaries as with ingratiation aimed at posterity'; but *ambitio in* + acc. is an unusual constr. and seems rare (perhaps only Cic. *II Verr.* 2.154 'ut . . . officii potius in socios quam ambitionis in ciues rationem duxerit', Suet. *Otho* 4.2 'nullo igitur officii aut ambitionis in quemquam genere omisso'). The *sententia*, pointed by alliteration, chiasmus and *uariatio* (Sörbom 80–1), describes the authentic Tib.: for his indifference to current popularity see e.g. 1.76.4, 3.69.4 'quanto rarior apud Tiberium popularitas', 4.31.2;

for his yearning for posthumous fame see esp. 4.38.1–3 (note *meminisse posteros uolo* and *fama nominis mei*). See Z. Yavetz, *Plebs and princeps* (1969) 103–13, T. J. Luce, 'Tiberius and fame', *ANRW* 2.33.4.2922–6 (1991), C. Pelling, 'The spur of fame: *Annals* 4.37–8', *AHC* 364–84, Grethlein 175–6. For *gratia* ~ *ambitio* elsewhere cf. *Agr.* 1.2, Vitr. 3 *praef.* 3, Vell. 126.5, Gell. 14.7.9; for *praesentes* see *OLD* 1f.

46.3 incertus animi Despite its appearance in other authors (Ter. *Hec.* 121, Liv. 1.7.6, Val. Fl. 1.79, Stat. *Theb.* 3.444), Heubner (on *H.* 3.55.3) regards this expr. as Sallustian on the basis of *H.* 3.107, 4.68.

fato permisit According to Suetonius, Tib. ended up not choosing between his grandsons (*Tib.* 76.1 'testamento heredes aequis partibus reliquit Gaium ex Germanico et Tiberium ex Druso nepotes substituitque inuicem'). *fatis* (plur.) *permitto* recurs at Val. Max. 1.7 *ext.* 1, Luc. 7.333, 10.426.

prouidus futurorum Though *prouidentia* was one of Tib.'s official 'virtues' (3.69.1n.), here the meaning is 'prophetic of' (as Liv. 23.36.2, Sen. *Ep.* 66.35).

46.4 *o*ccidentem ab eo deseri, *o*rientem spectari *orientem spectare* = 'to face east' (*OLD specto* 10) is extremely common in topographical contexts, e.g. Plin. *NH* 12.38 'Tylos insula . . . repleta siluis qua spectat orientem', although in our passage (the only ex. of the passive) it may be more natural to translate the verb as 'watching' (so *OLD specto* 1a). Tib.'s *mot* (which is also at Dio 58.28.4) resembles that which Pompey (at Plut. *Pomp.* 14.3 τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα πλείονες ἢ δυόμενον προσκυνοῦσιν) is said to have addressed to Sulla (see also Champlin (2008) 412); compare how Burrus' dying response to Nero (14.51.1 'ego me bene habeo') is borrowed from Metellus Scipio's before his suicide (Liv. *per.* 114, Sen. *Ep.* 24.9–10). Also next n.

omnia Sullae *ui*tia et nullam eiusdem *ui*rtutem Sulla, a classic example of a man whose career was divided between good and bad (e.g. Vell. 2.17.1 'uir qui neque ad finem uictoriae satis laudari neque post uictoriam abunde uituperari potest'; cf. 27.5, Val. Max. 9.2.1, Juv. 1.16–17), was evidently a source of much anecdote, e.g. Suet. *DJ* 77.1 'Sullam nescisse litteras, qui dictaturam deposuerit'.

truci alterius uultu According to Suetonius, Caligula practised in front of the mirror, making his face even more forbidding than it was already (*Cal.* 50.1 'uultum uero natura horridum ac taetrum etiam ex industria efferabat componens ad speculum in omnem terrorem ac formidinem'); cf. also Sen. *Const. Sap.* 18.1, *Ira* 3.19.

'Occides hunc tu', inquit, 'et te alius' The same anecdote is in Dio 58.23.3. Caligula murdered Tiberius Gemellus in 37 (Suet. *Cal.* 23.3, Philo, *Leg. Gai.* 23–9, Dio 59.1.3, 8.1) and was himself assassinated by Cassius Chaerea (cf. 1.32.2) on 24 January 41 (Suet. *Cal.* 58.1).

46.5 Sed grauescente ualetudine *sed* suggests that the three anecdotes of §4 ('namque . . . ') have been digressive and that *grauescente ualetudine* picks up *fesso corpore* in §3. The themes of deceit and doctors with which the Capri narrative ends ('firmitudinem simulans solitusque eludere medicorum artes') will return when the narrative resumes at Misenum after the central section on Rome (50.1–3 *dissimulatio*, *intentus . . . tegebat*, *medicus arte insignis*, *neque fefellit*, *ultra solitum*). For *grauescere* cf. 1.5.1n.

in patientia This is the reading of M (with a line-break between the two words), and it has often been rendered 'in his endurance'. Perhaps because this meaning sits uneasily alongside *firmitudinem simulans*, Muretus emended to *impatientia*, which Ernesti claimed not to understand, himself proposing *intemperantia* (based on Suetonius: see below). Muretus' emendation was revived and defended at some length by Merkelbach (109–10): he said that the whole phrase means 'indem er durch Unbeherrschtheit Stärke simulierte' and compared Suet. *Tib.* 72.3 'nihil . . . praetermitteret, ne conuiuia quidem aut ceteras uoluptates, partim intemperantia, partim dissimulatione'. Four years later, and independently, Shackleton Bailey appeared also to defend Muretus' emendation (64), though admitting being tempted by the synonymous *impotentia*, which he attributed to his Harvard colleague Badian, although it had been made originally two centuries earlier by Hiller. Yet none of these emendations is necessary if we understand *patientia* to mean 'hardship' (*OLD* 2b; *TLL* 10.1.715.8ff.), picking up *grauescente ualetudine* in the preceding colon. On *patientia* see also 38.3n.

qui post tricesimum aetatis annum . . . alieni consilii indigerent Cf. Suet. *Tib.* 68.4 'ualetudine prosperrima usus est, tempore quidem principatus paene toto prope inlaesa, quamuis a tricesimo aetatis anno arbitratu eam suo rexerit sine adiumento consilioue medicorum': Tib. was evidently a follower of Socrates in this respect (Xen. *Mem.* 4.7.9 προέτρεπε δὲ σφόδρα καὶ ὑγιείας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοὺς συνόντας παρά τε τῶν εἰδότων μανθάνοντας ὅσα ἐνδέχοιτο, καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἕκαστον προσέχοντα διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου, τί βρῶμα ἢ τί πῶμα ἢ ποῖος πόνος συμφέροι αὐτῷ, καὶ πῶς τούτοις χρώμενος ὑγιεινότατ' ἂν διάγοι· τοῦ γὰρ οὕτω προσέχοντος ἑαυτῷ ἔργον ἔφη εἶναι εὑρεῖν ἰατρὸν τὰ πρὸς ὑγίειαν συμφέροντα αὐτῷ μᾶλλον διαγιγνώσκοντα). For *eludere* (here = 'to ridicule': *OLD* 4) cf. Plut. *De tuenda sanitate* 136e Ἤκουσα Τιβέριόν ποτε Καίσαρα εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀνὴρ ὑπὲρ ἑξήκοντα γεγονὼς ἔτη καὶ προτείνων ἰατρῷ χεῖρα καταγέλαστός ἐστιν. *internoscere*, followed by *atque* at *Agr.* 12.3, is elsewhere found with *uel* only at Serv. *Aen.* 2.15 (*TLL* 7.1.2234.29–30); for *utilia uel noxia* cf. 4.33.2.

47.1 Interim Romae This transitional phrase, unique in T., occurred first in Sallust (*J.* 40.1, 55.1) and then in Livy (e.g. 4.25.9), though he also has the order *Romae interim* (e.g. 5.24.4); hereafter it is found only in Aurelius Victor

(4×) and the *HA* (*Sept. Sev.* 6.6). The phrase implicitly reminds us that hitherto the year's narrative has been centred on Capri.

futuris . . . caedibus semina iaciebantur 'This statement seems to stand as a rubric for mentioning a series of names of people who would survive to meet their death in the following reign or reigns. But that is not what happens. Of those mentioned in this and the next chapter only the tribune Junius Otho seems subsequently to have met an unnatural death' (Martin). See further below (n. *unde*).

T. likes the metaphorical use of seeds, e.g. 3.41.1 'haud ferme ulla ciuitas intacta seminibus eius motus fuit' (and n.), 4.27.1 'mota . . . seruilis belli semina' (and n.), 4.60.3 'semina futuri exitii', 12.48.2 'semina . . . odiorum iacienda'; G–G 1462b. Here compare esp. Sen. *Phoen.* 279–80 'iacta iam sunt semina | cladis futurae'. The dat. is nevertheless unusual (easier at *H.* 2.76.4 'noua cotidie bello semina ministrat'). *iacio* is technical of sowing seed (*OLD* 3b). See also 6.7.3n. (*quod*) for similar imagery.

Laelius Balbus Taken to be identical with the D. Laelius mentioned by Quint. 10.1.23 and probably also with the suffect consul of AD 46: see *RE* 12.415 = Laelius 16 (Miltner), *PIR* 1.10 nos. 48 and 49, *BNP* 7.167 [Laelius II 2]. See further 48.4n. (*quia*). The Vestal Virgin Laelia of 15.22.2 was perhaps a daughter.

Acutiam, P. Vitellii quondam uxorem Whether *quondam* is to be explained by Vitellius' suicide in 31 (5.8.1–2 and nn.) or by an earlier divorce is unknown: for Acutia see *RE* 1.339 = Acutia 4 (von Rohden), *PIR* 1.16 no. 102, *BNP* 1.130; Raepsaet-Charlier 29–30 no. 5. If Q. Acutius Nerva, suffect in 100, was a descendant, Acutia illustrates T.'s tendency to highlight the ancestors of his contemporaries (see 6.7.2n. *Q. Seruaeus*).

cum praemium accusatori decerneretur The *lex Iulia de maiestate* stipulated that the accuser should receive a quarter of the confiscated property of the condemned (4.22.2).

Iunius Otho is son of the homonym who was mentioned at 3.66.1 as praetor in AD 22: see *RE* 10.1073 = Iunius 114 (Gerth), *PIR* 4.342 no. 789, *BNP* 6.1102 [Iunius II 24].

unde illis odia, mox Othoni exitium *illis* = 'between Balbus and Otho', as Gronovius pointed out; Nipperdey's change of *exilium* to *exitium* is required to provide at least some justification for the seemingly rhetorical plural *futuris . . . post Tiberium caedibus* above (*post Tiberium* = *mox* here). The converse error occurs at 1.77.4.

47.2 Albucilla is not otherwise known (see *RE* 1.1330 (von Rohden), *PIR* 1.82 no. 487, *BNP* 1.433); see also 48.4 below.

cui matrimonium cum Satrio Secundo coniurationis indice fuerat Satrius Secundus had been a notorious *cliens* of Sejanus (4.34.1, 6.8.5n. *etiam*). Although most scholars infer from this passage that he had informed on Sejanus' plot against Tib., R. A. Bauman agrees with those who think that the *coniuratio* is that of Albucilla and her accomplices (*Impietas in principem* (1974) 131, in the course of a speculative discussion of the present episode): while it seems perhaps strange to mention an event (however cataclysmic) which is now six years in the past, *fuerat* is hard to reconcile with a current plot; the tense suggests either that Secundus was now dead or that he and Albucilla were divorced (perhaps as a result of his denunciation of the plot).

ut conscii et adulteri eius Suetonius says of Domitius (below) that he was 'maiestatis quoque et adulteriorum . . . sub excessu Tiberii reus' (*Nero* 5.2, adding incest with his sister). For the combination of the two terms elsewhere cf. Sen. *Contr.* 7.5.1, Suet. *Cal.* 24.3. It is not known what kind of *maiestas* is specified by *impietas in principem*.

Cn. Domitius The consul of 32 (6.1.1) and father of Nero (4.75).

Vibius Marsus Suffect consul in 17 and more recently proconsul of Africa (26–9 or 27–30): see 2.74.1n.; *BNP* 15.385 [Vibius II 9]. Nothing is known of the ancestral distinction or cultural accomplishment with which he is credited below.

L. Arruntius *Consul ordinarius* in AD 6, he has already featured above at 6.5.1, 7.1 and 27.3; see 1.8.3n.; *BNP* 2.30 [Arruntius II 3]; Rüpke 545 no. 724.

It has been pointed out that Domitius' consular colleague in 32 was Arruntius' adopted son, L. Arruntius Furius Camillus Scribonianus (6.1.1),[120] whose wife's name is later given as Vibia (12.52.1–2). If her name is correct,[121] she was presumably the daughter of Vibius Marsus, who himself was evidently married to a Laelia, sister of Laelius Balbus (P. Y. Forsyth, 'A treason case of AD 37', *Phoenix* 23 (1969) 204–7, with a stemma).

supra memoraui See 6.1.1n. (*Cn. Domitius*). For cross-references in general see 4.1n. (*ut rettuli*); for this phrase see *Agr.* 18.3n.

47.3 testium interrogationi . . . in Arruntium The essentials of this account appear also in Dio (58.27.2–5), although he differs in details and mentions only Domitius and Arruntius by name. The *commentarii* to which

[120] Scribonianus later rebelled unsuccessfully against the emperor Claudius in 42; it was no doubt at this point that the Cellae Vinariae Arruntianae (*CIL* 6.8826) near the Villa Farnesina in Rome passed from the Arruntii family and became an imperial possession (see e.g. S. L. Dyson, *Rome: a living portrait of an ancient city* (2010) 249).

[121] Syme (*TST* 99 n. 1) suggested reading *Vin<ic>ia*.

T. refers are the written records of the interrogation sessions; similar documents are mentioned at 15.73.1 'conlata in libros indicia confessionesque damnatorum': they are presumably different from the so-called *commentarii principum*, for which see e.g. H. on *H.* 4.40.4 or Sherwin-White on Plin. *Ep.* 10.66.1 (where they are compared hilariously with 'the minute book of an Oxford college').

nullaeque . . . dabant 'and the fact that there was no letter from the emperor against them raised the suspicion that . . . '

inimicitias . . . notas Livian (39.4.8).

48.1 produxere uitam Domitius died in 40 when Nero was three years old (Suet. *Nero* 6.3, cf. 5.2); Vibius Marsus became governor of Syria in 42 (11.10.1 and Malloch ad loc.). The latter's pretence of starving himself to death was lent credibility by the sequence of deaths in 33 (*PH* 358). For *defensionem meditans* (above) see 3.15.3n.

cunctationem et moras is a relatively common pleonasm from *Bell. Alex.* 2.1 onwards.

non eadem omnibus decora For this aphorism see 3.6.1n.

sibi satis aetatis The motif *satis uixi* is a commonplace (Cic. *Marc.* 25 [reporting the famous words of Julius Caesar], *Phil.* 1.38, Nep. *Epam.* 9.4, Sen. *Ep.* 61.4, *al.*) and related to the topos *opportunitas mortis* (for which see e.g. *Agr.* 45.3n.).

inter ludibria et pericula . . . senectam tolerauisset *ludibria* suggests an allusion to Arruntius' absentee governorship of Spain (27.3n. *oblitus*), *pericula* to the fact that accusations had been made against him by Sejanus (7.1n.). For *ludibria* and *pericula* combined cf. Plin. *Ep.* 3.14.5; for *senectam tolerare* cf. Plin. *NH* 22.114 (*tolerabilis senectus* is Ciceronian: *Senec.* 7–8). *senecta* (3.23.1n.; Oakley on Liv. 6.8.2) and *tolerare* (3.1.1n.) are both Tacitean favourites.

non culpa sed ut flagitiorum impatiens *ut* + adj. can only give the alleged reason, not the actual reason, for which Arruntius was hated by the powerful ('not through any blame but as being intolerant of their outrages'): he is being deeply cynical in suggesting that his enemies brazenly acknowledge their wrongdoing and resent him for not supporting it. The point is similar to that made at Thuc. 3.82.5 ἁπλῶς δὲ ὁ φθάσας τὸν μέλλοντα κακόν τι δρᾶν ἐπῃνεῖτο, καὶ ὁ ἐπικελεύσας τὸν μὴ διανοούμενον.

48.2 sane paucos ad suprema principis dies posse uitari 'To be sure, the few days to the *princeps*' death could be avoided' (*OLD uitare* 3b). The MS reads *et suprema*, which was emended by Rhenanus to *et supremos* and by Madvig to *ad suprema*. It is not so easy to decide between the two conjectures, either of which generates the requisite contrast with *quemadmodum . . . iuuentam*

below. Madvig's hypothesised use of *ad* seems rather more difficult than when the prepositional phrase depends upon a verb (as [Quint.] *Decl.* 12.18 'quot dies ad mortem supersint'); on the other hand, although *supremus dies* is an extremely common expression for one's last day (6× in T. alone), it is never found in the plural. This latter phenomenon is striking and should perhaps be the deciding factor. For *suprema* see esp. 3.49.1 'Germanici suprema' (n.); without gen. at 50.2 below.

imminentis iuuentam T. likes the absolute use of *imminens* in the neuter plural (see 5.4.1n. *dum*): its application to a single person is remarkable (plural in a rather different sense at Amm. 31.15.4 'rabies imminentium'); contrast 1.4.2 'imminentes dominos'. For *iuuenta* see 3.8.2n., and for the idiom of abstract + genitive (= 'the looming young man') see *Agr.* 21.2n.

cum Tiberius post tantam rerum experientiam ui dominationis conuulsus et mutatus sit Many scholars have believed that the ancient world in general, and T. in particular, regarded an individual's character as fixed at birth and immutable thereafter (references in Gill 469 and n. 2). As Arruntius' statement here shows conclusively, T. was perfectly well acquainted with the notion that an individual's character could change, while a sentence about Vespasian in the *Histories* (*H.* 1.50.3 'solusque omnium ante se principum in melius mutatus est') shows that he subscribed to the notion himself.

The only parallel to *ui . . . conuulsus* seems to be Cic. *Fam.* 5.13.2 'quae cogitatio . . . ui tamen tempestatum et concursu calamitatum erat aliquantum labefactata atque conuulsa': although it is not clear whether the metaphorical battering is taking place on land or sea, it is extremely interesting to note that according to Dio 57.13.6 Tib. 'ran aground' (ἐξοκείλας) after the death of Germanicus in AD 19; and Gill has noted that this same shipwreck metaphor 'is used repeatedly in Greek in cases of moral collapse, or collapse of character' (481, with numerous exs. in n. 79). Usually the collapse takes the form of the vices (such as cruelty or lust) to which power gives an individual ready access, but Arruntius is saying something rather different: as the contrast with *post tantam rerum experientiam* shows, he is engaged by the seeming paradox that Tib., despite his great experience of affairs before he became *princeps* (*OLD post*[2] 4b), was nevertheless overwhelmed by the reality (*ui*) of sole rule (*dominationis*) once he became *princeps*;[122] usually *uis dominationis* refers to the 'power' or 'force' of despotism and the like (thus 15.69.1, Cic. *Rep.* 2.15, Vell. 68.4, Suet. *Dom.* 1.3),

[122] The paradox is emphasised if we recall that at 1.4.3 Tib. was contrasted with Agrippa Postumus, who, lacking experience of affairs, was deemed incapable of succeeding Augustus ('neque rerum experientia tantae moli parem').

It is significant that Tib. refused to be referred to as *dominus* (2.87, Suet. *Tib.* 27; cf. Dio 57.8.1–2): the reason was neither respect for an Augustan

but for another passage where *uis* refers to the powerful 'reality' of *dominatio* cf. Suet. *Tib*. 24.1 'ui et specie dominationis assumpta' (and see above, 30.4n. *magisque*). In other words, and contrary to what is normally believed (e.g. by Syme, *Tac*. 422), Arruntius is summarising the very view of Tib. to which T. himself subscribed (see below on the obituary, and Appendix).

This conclusion may be confirmed by what Arruntius goes on to say in his main sentence, where he draws a parallel between Caligula and Tib. Since Caligula is envisaged as being subservient to Macro, the parallel works only if Tib. is being seen as subservient successively to Sejanus and Macro – and it is the latter, not Tib. himself, who is seen as responsible for wrecking the state ('qui . . . rem publicam conflictauisset').

pessimis innutritum refers to the kinds of thing which Caligula had learned 'in sinu aui' (45.3 above). The phrase closes alliteratively an inner chiasmus (~ *ignarum omnium*) within an outer (*finita pueritia* ~ *meliora capessiturum*). *innutrio*, which is not common, is found first at Vell. 94.2 'innutritus caelestium praeceptorum disciplinis', where it refers to the advice Tib. received from Augustus.

meliora capessiturum The only other author to use this form of the verb (again at 12.25.1) is Apuleius (*Met*. 9.8.5); *capessurus* occurs in the late Victor Vitensis 3.67. The perfect *capessii* (12.30.1) is confined to T. (*TLL* 3.309.67–310.2).

qui . . . rem publicam conflictauisset The active form of the verb is only here in T. and is in general very much rarer than the deponent or passive forms (only Ter. *Phorm*. 505, Plin. *NH* 8.59 and Amm. 27.3.12 are added in *TLL* 4.236.41–6).

ut deterior 'on the grounds of his being worse.' Macro was instrumental in the arrest of Sejanus and had been secretly appointed to succeed him as Prefect of the Praetorian Guard (Dio 58.9.2–6).

acrius seruitium The only other ex. of this expression (Persius 5.127) does not clarify the precise meaning of the adj., whether e.g. 'sharp' or 'bitter'. For *seruitium*/*seruitus* see 3.45.2n.

eoque fugere simul acta et instantia Unlike Corellius Rufus, who wished to defer his suicide until he had outlived Domitian (Plin. *Ep*. 1.12.8), Arruntius knew there was no point in delay, since Caligula would only be worse than Tib. No exact parallel for *acta* = 'the past' is quoted in *TLL* 1.1407.23. For substantival *instantia* cf. 4.69.2 'praeteritaque et instantia',

> policy (though this was no doubt relevant) nor false modesty but that he did not want others to see him in, or himself to be reminded constantly of, a role which he did not want and had never agreed formally to accept.

H. 3.36.1 'praeterita instantia futura' (see H. ad loc., adding Luc. 4.515); the precise meaning will vary depending upon the context (see *TLL* 7.1.2004.76–80).

48.3 uatis in modum Likewise Nepos praised Cicero for his prophetic insights (*Att.* 16.4 'etiam quae nunc usu ueniunt cecinit ut uates').

Documento . . . usum Though T. is sparing in his use of proleptic statements (32.4n. *regressus*), there seems no reason to agree with Fuchs that this sentence should be deleted. Indeed Syme sees 'supreme artistry' in 'the wilful descent from the fervid eloquence of a vaticination to plainest prose' (*Tac.* 356). For *documento* + acc. and inf. see *H.* 2.76.4 (and H.).

48.4 Albucilla . . . in carcerem fertur Dio has the same story without naming Albucilla (58.27.4). For *inrito ictu* cf. Plin. *NH* 8.88, Sil. 9.507.

Stuprorum eius ministri It is something of a surprise that the men about to be named are different from the 'conscii et adulteri' of 47.2; any connection between the two groups remains a mystery.

Carsidius Sacerdos praetorius Accused of giving practical assistance to Tacfarinas in 23, he was acquitted (4.13.2) and became praetor in 27. See *RE* 3.1615 (Groag), *PIR* 2.106 no. 451, *BNP* 2.1128. The two following *ut*-clauses depend on *decernitur*, to be understood from *decernuntur* below: so also 1.15.2, 14.12.1, and, for the 'gapping', see 29.3n. (*nihil*).

Ponti<li>us Fregellanus Whether the Pontius Fregellanus of the paradosis is identical with the C. Pontilius Fregellanus of an inscription (*CIL* 3.8715 = *ILS* 960) is officially 'adhuc sub iudice' (*PIR* 6.340 no. 788 and 6.342–3 no. 800; cf. *RE* 22.28 = Pontilius 2 (Hanslik), 22.38 = Pontius 31 (Hanslik)) but is surely very likely: we seem to have as good a case for making a similar emendation in T.'s text as at 6.3.4 (n. *Sexti<li>um*). Syme, however, is agnostic or sceptical (*TST* 70–1). Nothing else is known about Fregellanus, nor is it known why his penalty differs from that of Carsidius Sacerdos.

eaedem poenae . . . decernuntur Since two different punishments have just been mentioned, *eaedem* is deeply mysterious. *deportatio in insulam* involved the automatic loss of senatorial rank.

quia . . . aduersum insontes Our only knowledge of Balbus' eloquence is a reference at Quint. 10.1.23 to a defence speech. *truci eloquentia* is unparalleled (but for *truci oratione* cf. *H.* 4.42.2 and H.): whether the phrase is a pun on Balbus' name is as unfathomable as *Blaesus multa dicendi arte* at 1.19.2; for names and their etymologies in T. see 3.75.1n.; *Tac. Rev.* 218ff. There is a more definite example at 50.2 below (n. *medicus*). *promptus aduersum insontes* looks like a generalisation but may imply that Balbus' arraignment of Acutia (47.1)

was groundless. For T.'s use of *aduersum/-us* see 3.14.1n.; for *insons/innocens* see 3.67.2n., Oakley on Liv. 9.16.10.

49.1 Isdem diebus See 3.72.1n.

Sex. Papinius consulari familia Son of the consul of 36 (40.1n.): see *RE* 18.3.980–1 = Papinius 4 (Helm), *PIR* 6.28 no. 100, *BNP* 10.484 [Papinius 1]; 'the family was not some degenerate aristocratic stock but a new consular family from Patavium, that exemplary city in the northern zone of Italy' (Syme, *Tac.* 543).

iacto in praeceps corpore For other suicidal leaps see Watson on Hor. *Epod.* 17.70 and 70–3, N–R on Hor. *C.* 3.27.61–2, with further refs.; note also E. Courtney, *A companion to Petronius* (2001) 146–7. At 4.22.1 T. had used *iacere in praeceps* to describe a husband's murder of his wife.

Causa ad matrem referebatur As we are about to be told, the alleged reason (*perpulisset* indicates virtual indirect speech) for the young man's suicide was the incestuous advances made by his mother: this story is therefore the converse of that at 19.1, where death from a height follows a case of alleged incest between father and daughter (n. *defertur*). Incest between mother and son 'was – and still is – regarded as the most infamous in any culture' (Breij 62 n. 109) and featured as a declamatory theme (cf. *D.* 35.5, Quint. 9.2.42, [Quint.] *Decl.* 18 and 19): see Breij 62–73. Syme insisted that T. knew the woman's name and 'chose to suppress it' (*RP* 4.374; cf. 391). *referebatur* = 'was ascribed to' (*OLD* 11a), as 4.57.1 'causam abscessus . . . ad Seiani artes rettuli'.

pridem repudiata Some scholars (e.g. Nipperdey–Andresen) interpret this as a reference to divorce, for which the verb is technical (*OLD* 1b); although it is quite likely that the victim's mother was indeed divorced from his father (cf. 2n. *quamquam*), perhaps the more probable meaning is that her son rejected her initial advances (*OLD* 2).

ad ea quorum . . . inueniret A typically Tacitean periphrasis for an unbecoming topic. The subjunctive is either generic or expresses futurity from a past point of view ('from which he was not to find an escape except by death'): for the latter see 25.1n. (*nisi si*).

49.2 quamquam genua patris <eius> aduolueretur The expr. *genua aduolui* ('to grovel at the knees of ~') is a Tacitean mannerism (4×) which he derived from Sallust, its only other author (*H.* fr. incert. 16 'genua patrum aduoluebantur'): see 1.13.6n. Rhenanus changed the transmitted *patris* to *patrum*, thus producing an exact parallel with Sallust's original; this is accepted by Borzsák, but it is hard to see how the corruption occurred. Lenchantin's *patri<bu>s* is accepted by Koestermann and Heubner but is surely impossible. Doederlein, supporting the paradosis on the grounds that T. was referring to the father of the woman's son, argued that this would give point to the

expression *luctum communem* just below. This is a good argument: the young man's father was the consul of the previous year, and, as Pfitzner observes, was presumably present in the curia for the trial. Nevertheless the plain *patris* not only seems rather inexplicit but, since Martin understands it as referring to the *woman's* father,[123] is ambiguous; the simple insertion of *eius* avoids this difficulty. On this interpretation T.'s use of *patris* rather than *coniugis* suggests that the parents of the deceased were divorced.

For the subjunc. after *quamquam* see 1.3.5n.

luctumque communem . . . diu ferret On the present interpretation (previous n.) *communem* refers to the joint grief of the victim's mother and father (as Sen. *Contr.* 5.3); on the conventional interpretation it refers to the grief common to mankind in such circumstances (cf. Sen. *Suas.* 6.19 [= Cremutius Cordus F1C = 1P] 'ceterorumque caedes priuatos luctus excitauerunt, illa una communem', of Cicero's death). *ferret* is said to be equivalent to *proferret*, 'adduced' (*OLD profero* 5a), but is perhaps best taken as simply 'told of' *vel sim.* (*OLD fero* 33).

imbecillum . . . feminarum animum For the commonplace of women's emotional weakness, esp. in a legal context, see 3.34.5n. T. likes to place *super* between adj. and noun (Malloch on 11.23.1, H. on *H.* 4.40.4).

aliaque in eundem dolorem *m*aesta et *m*iseranda Since there has hitherto been no reference to the senators' distressed reaction to the woman, *eundem* makes better sense if *dolor* is given its rarer active meaning of 'a quality of speech calculated to raise sad emotions' or 'pathos' (*OLD* 3, e.g. Cic. *De Or.* 2.73), i.e. 'for the same pathetic purposes' (see further *TLL* 5.1.1842.24–39). *maestus* is often combined in various ways with *miser* and associated terms, e.g. again at 15.16.4 'maesti manipuli ac uicem commilitonum miserantes'.

lubricum iuuentae Youth was conventionally regarded as a 'slippery' time of life (13.2.1, Cic. *Verr.* 5.137, Sen. *Contr.* 2.6.4, Plin. *Ep.* 3.3.4). The younger son has sometimes been identified with the Sex. Papinius tortured by Caligula (Sen. *Ira* 3.18.3), but it seems unlikely that the consul of 36 would have two sons called Sextus; another Sex. Papinius tortured by Caligula is described by Dio as the son of Anicius Cerealis (59.25.5b). There is evidently more here than meets the eye.

50.1 Iam Tiberium corpus, iam uires, nondum dissimulatio deserebat 'nullam aeque Tiberius (ut rebatur) ex uirtutibus suis quam dissimulationem diligebat' (4.71.3; cf. 3.2.3n.). Ernesti saw a 'clear imitation' of Liv. 1.25.6 'Romanas legiones iam spes tota, nondum tamen cura deseruerat'

[123] Martin may have been misled by Furneaux, who seems to have misrepresented what Pfitzner says.

(cf. also Liv. 8.38.12 'iam uiris uires, iam ferro sua uis, iam consilia ducibus deerant'), but contrasts between *iam* and *nondum*, a favourite of T. (see *Agr.* 13.1n.), are extremely common throughout Latin literature. The different grammar perhaps also makes unlikely an allusion to Enn. *Ann.* 37 'uires uitaque corpus meum nunc deserit omne'; Nipperdey–Andresen quote Thuc. 7.75.4 εἴ τῳ δὲ προλίποι ἡ ῥώμη καὶ τὸ σῶμα.

animi rigor Senecan (*Vit. Beat.* 9.4).

sermone ac uultu intentus quaesita interdum comitate . . . defectionem tegebat When Germanicus was alive, people appreciated how different he was from Tib. in precisely these respects (1.33.2): 'iuueni . . . mira comitas et diuersa a Tiberii sermone, uultu, adrogantibus et obscuris'. Hence the irony of the *princeps*' contrived *comitas* now, which, even so, he managed only occasionally (*interdum*). *intentus* when referring to speech means 'emphatic' (as Cic. *De Or.* 1.255 'sermone . . . paulo intentiore'); when applied to expression it suggests concentration (Sen. *Contr.* 9.2.10, Sil. 3.155, Gell. 19.10.10); but it is also appropriate for the appearance of a tyrant (Sen. *Contr.* 2.5.4 'intentum tyranni uultum'). *sermo* and *uultus* (again at 4.54.1) are regularly combined in prose authors from Cicero (4×) onwards.

Mutatisque saepius locis tandem apud promunturium Miseni consedit in uilla cui L. Lucullus quondam dominus Suetonius says that Tib. visited Astura and Circeii on his way from the outskirts of Rome to Misenum (*Tib.* 72.2), but T.'s lack of detail suggests the indecisive travel with which Book 6 began (1.1nn.) and which returns here in the very last section, ending on a promontory, the next best thing to an island. The fact that the *princeps*' ultimate destination is a villa which once belonged to Lucullus, the famous gourmand, makes it a suitable location for the banquet which will constitute Tib.'s final scene (below, 3n. *instaurari*). Significantly it is only T. who combines the three elements of villa, banquet and death: Suetonius entirely dissociates the villa, in which Tib. dies, from the banquet (*Tib.* 72.3, 73.1), while Dio (58.28) has neither banquet nor villa (*PH* 358 and n. 56). An earlier visit of Tib. to this villa is described by Phaedrus (2.5.7–10): 'Caesar Tiberius cum petens Neapolim |in Misenensem uillam uenisset suam, | quae monte summo posita Luculli manu |prospectat Siculum et respicit Tuscum mare . . . '. See J. H. D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples* (1970) 184–5.

consido + *apud*, first attested at Cic. *Fam.* 15.4.2, seems rare but cf. 15.34.1, *H.* 5.14.1.

50.2 Erat medicus arte insignis, nomine Charicles *arte insignis* looks like a gloss on the man's name: in Greek texts χαρίεντες is almost a technical description of 'distinguished physicians' (see Ph. J. van der Eijk, 'Aristotle on "Distinguished physicians" and on the medical significance of dreams', in van

der Eijk (ed.), *Ancient medicine in its socio-cultural context* (1995) 2.448–9). For two other apt medical names see Cass. Hemina F27C = 26P (= Plin. *NH* 29.12). For the 'story-telling' *erat*-formula see 5.4.1n. (*Fuit*).

regere ualetudines principis seems likely to mean 'to put right the *princeps*' bouts of ill-health'.

uelut . . . digrediens et per speciem officii manum complexus pulsum uenarum attigit *per speciem officii* = 'apparently in an act of respect' (as Suet. *Dȳ* 82.1; slightly different at Curt. 7.1.14); cf. 1.24.3 'quasi per officium'. The act was that of kissing the *princeps*' hand (Suet. *Tib.* 72.3; cf. 1.34.2 'per speciem exosculandi'). The ancients recognised that the pulse indicated the state of the heart (cf. Cels. 3.19.1 'licetque protinus scire id [sc. cardiacum genus morbi] esse ubi uenarum exigui imbecillique pulsus sunt'); see further at 3n. (*labi*) below. Charicles was perhaps led to his deception by the well-known story of how Antiochus I, who was feigning illness, was caught out by his physician (Val. Max. 5.7 *ext.* 1): 'intrante enim Stratonice et rursus abeunte brachium adulescentis dissimulanter adprehendendo modo uegetiore, modo languidiore pulsu uenarum conperit cuius morbi aeger esset, protinusque id Seleuco exposuit'.

Neque fefellit One cannot be certain whether the verb means 'deceive' or 'escape notice' or whether it is being used transitively or absolutely (see *OLD* 1a and 6a and c); *neque* is adversative (*OLD* 5), as 4.45.2 'neque diu fefellit', Cic. *Off.* 2.25 'nec eum fefellit'. The master of deception is not to be taken in by a mere amateur.

50.3 incertum an offensus tantoque magis iram premens 'perhaps offended and thus suppressing his anger all the more' (for *incertum an* see 5.1.2n.). For *iram premens* (again at *H.* 4.72.2) see Luc. 2.521 'premit ille grauis interritus iras'; the expr. probably illustrates T.'s use of simple verb for compound, since *iram* (*-as*) *supprimere* is slightly more common (Liv. 2.35.2, Ov. *Ex P.* 1.8.69, Curt. 6.7.35, Sen. *Ira* 3.14.4).

instaurari epulas iubet When Tib. used *degustare imperium* as an implicit description of his position as *princeps* (see 20.2 and n. *Et tu*), he was participating in the broader metaphor of life as a banquet (for which see e.g. Brink on Hor. *Epist.* 2, Appendix 20): see e.g. Cic. *TD* 5.118 'mihi quidem in uita seruanda uidetur illa lex quae in Graecorum conuiuiis obtinetur: "Aut bibat", inquit, "aut abeat".' Here Tib. is (as it were) literalising the metaphor, capitalising on the banquet to prove his hold on life (*PH* 359). His instruction is expressed in Virgilian language (cf. *instaurant epulas* at *Aen.* 7.146, 8.283), as is Stat. *Theb.* 1.514–15 'epulasque recentes | instaurare iubet'.

labi spiritum The ancients believed not only that the pulse indicated the condition of the heart (see above, 2n. *uelut*) but also that air was carried

through the arteries and/or veins (cf. *Corpus Hermeticum* 10.13), and it has been argued that this latter belief is reflected by T. here (W. A. Oldfather, *CP* 34 (1939) 146–7). On this interpretation *spiritum* is the arterial air (πνεῦμα) which Charicles believed he was monitoring when he took the *princeps*' pulse, and it is to be distinguished from the *anima* (ψυχή) at 4 below, which refers to his breathing. Contrast Ov. *AA* 3.745–6 'pectore lapsus | . . . spiritus', where (as is clear from the context) *spiritus* does refer to breathing.

nec . . . duraturum Macroni firmauit The likelihood is that *spiritum* continues as the subject of *duraturum* (cf. Plin. *NH* 31.124 'nec usquam diutius durare spiritum medici adfirmant', of sponges), although it is possible that instead we are to understand *eum* (= *Tiberium*). T.'s preference for *firmo* over *adfirmo* in Books 1–6 'is striking, and typical' (G. on 1.81.1, with statistics).

50.4 XVII Kal. Aprilis The same date (16 March) is given by Suetonius (*Tib.* 73.1); Dio has it ten days later (58.28.5). *ante diem* has to be understood, as at 25.3 above. For *cuncta . . . festinabantur* (above) cf. *H.* 2.82.1, Sall. *J.* 73.1 'cuncta parat festinatque'.

interclusa anima . . . mortalitatem expleuisse *anima intercludi* is a technical expr. for the interruption of one's breath (*OLD* 2, adding Liv. 23.7.3, Gell. 3.15 *init.*); *expleo* is often used in the context of death (3.76.1n., adding Maltby on Tib. 1.3.53), but its combination with *mortalitatem* is unparalleled. *gratantum* (below) has a poetic *color*: see 2.75.1n., Oakley on Liv. 7.13.10.

***c*um *re*pente adfertur *re*dire Tiberio *uoc*em ac *u*isus *uoc*arique qui *re*creandae defectioni *c*ibum adferrent** Caligula's excited anticipation is cut short by the *peripeteia* of an inverted *cum*-clause (emphasised by *repente*: cf. 6.2.2n. *cum*) which is framed by the figure *traductio* and pointed by alliterative wordplay. The *princeps*' calls for food mirror those of his grandson Drusus four years earlier, and, like his, they will go unanswered (24.3 'extrema uitae alimenta frustra orantem').

50.5 omnes . . . ceteri . . . quisque . . . Caesar in silentium fixus From the noisy throng of well-wishers, who thought they knew what they were doing, the scene suddenly changes to one of universal panic;[124] everyone slips away, each individual contriving the appropriate response of sorrow or ignorance, until the focus rests on the stationary Caligula, the only one left. Martin has rightly emphasised the unusualness of the expr. *in silentium fixus*: one can be stiffened metaphorically into stone, like a statue (cf. Apul. *Met.* 3.10.2 'fixus in lapidem'; *OLD in* 19a), but one cannot, even metaphorically, be stiffened into the abstraction *silence*. Commentators differ over whether 'Caesar' here

[124] On the effectiveness of the elliptical *pauor hinc in omnes* see Voss 44.

is Caligula's name or his new title: their uncertainty exactly reflects his circumstance – he had been congratulated as 'Imperator Caesar' but, unable to advance 'ad capienda imperii primordia', remains stuck (*fixus*) as 'Gaius Caesar'.

nouissima exspectabat 'was expecting the worst': the contrast with *summa* suggests that *nouissima* means 'furthest distant' (*OLD* 6b), i.e. lowest, which in the context may be rendered as 'the worst' (cf. *OLD* 8). Caligula was hailed as *imperator* by the senate two days later on 18 March (*CIL* 6.2028c = Smallwood p. 10, §3, ll. 9–11), which perhaps explains *nec ultra biduum* above (3).

iniectu multae uestis It is characteristic of T. to use the relatively rare abstract *iniectus* + gen. instead of the regular *inicere uestem*. For the various versions of Tib.'s death see Seager 206–7.

50.5–51.3 Obituary of Tiberius

Death is a natural subject to bring about literary closure, and T., like his predecessors Sallust and Livy, was well aware that an *epitaphion* was an appropriate way to round off a death scene (on all this see 3.30.1n., with further references). The obituary of Tib. with which he closes the first hexad of the *Annals* is perhaps the most famous in the whole of classical literature.

After a sentence about Tib.'s family background, the obituary notice is clearly divided into two parts by the 'headline' expressions *casus prima ab infantia ancipites* (51.1), introducing his life and career, and *morum quoque tempora illi diuersa* (51.3), introducing his character and personality; both of these parts, which correspond loosely to the accounts at 1.3.1–3 and 1.4.3–5 respectively and thus serve to frame the Tiberian hexad, are then further subdivided into various stages. The stages are arranged chiastically: in the first part the emphasis is upon Tib.'s life before his principate, to which only the final brief sentence is devoted; in the second part only the first brief sentence is devoted to the years before his principate, which takes up all of the remainder.

50.5–51 2 Tiberius' life and career

Sic Tiberius finiuit 'The extinction of Tiberius is registered in a phrase which, plain and majestic, stands unique in the literature of the Latins' (Syme, *Tac.* 342). The intransitive use of *finire* = 'to die' is indeed unparalleled in classical Latin (Draeger–Heraeus quote Firm. *Math.* 3.11.12 'damnabuntur et finiunt frequenti ratione biothanati'):[125] the normal expressions are *finiri* (*OLD* 8b) or *finire uitam* (*OLD* 9b), but it would be a brave scholar who inserted *uitam* either before *finiuit* (Ritter) or after it (Heinsius). It is perhaps worth noting that

[125] *TLL* mistakenly quotes as parallel *A.* 2.83.2 'uitam finierat'.

finire is used intransitively in certain other senses, e.g. 'to terminate' (of places, areas) or 'to stop speaking or writing' (*OLD* 2 and 9d). For the more normal *hunc exitum habuit* and the like see Vell. 53.3n., 72.1n., Oakley on Liv. 6.20.14.

octauo et septuagesimo aetatis anno The *princeps* had been born on 16 November 42 BC and he died on 16 March AD 37 (EJ pp. 54 and 43). When the news of his death reached Rome, allegedly as early as 18 March (Smallwood p. 10, §3, ll. 9–11),[126] the popular cry was said by Suetonius to have been 'Tiberium in Tiberim!' (*Tib.* 75.1). The body itself reached Rome on the night of 28/29 March and was cremated on 3 April in a public funeral at which Caligula delivered the eulogy (EJ p. 43; Dio 58.28.5, 59.3.7–8). T.'s account of the funeral – assuming that he wrote one – has not survived: his deferral of Claudius' funeral to the start of Book 13 suggests that he may have deferred Tib.'s funeral to the start of the missing Book 7, but we cannot be sure.[127]

51.1 Nero For Ti. Claudius Nero see 5.1.1n. (*primum*).

utrimque origo gentis Claudiae For the Claudian connections of Tib.'s mother see 5.1.1n. (*aetate*). *utrimque* 'shows that both father's and mother's lineages had a bearing on an aristocrat's quality by birth' (Saller 340). Cf. also Suet. *Tib.* 3.1.

quamquam mater in Liuiam et mox Iuliam familiam adoptionibus transierit It was Livia's father who had 'crossed into the Livian family' on his adoption by M. Livius Drusus (5.1.1n. *aetate*); T.'s expression invites the suggestion that she was 'really' a Claudian (last n.). Livia herself was adopted into the Julian family by Augustus in his will (1.8.1). See Saller 339–40.

Casus prima ab infantia ancipites The first 'heading' of the obituary is marked by varied, framing and emphatic word order (for the position of *prima* see 5.1.3n. *Sanctitate*). Since *casus* primarily denotes the 'things that happen to a person' (*OLD* 4b), the first decades of Tib.'s career are described in passive terms which correspond to those used at 1.3.1–3 (see above). *casus* is regularly coupled with *anceps*, most notably in Cicero's famous letter to his historian friend Lucceius (*Fam.* 5.12.5 'at uiri saepe excellentis ancipites uariique casus habent admirationem, exspectationem, laetitiam, molestiam, spem, timorem'); but it is relevant for what follows (next n.) that the expr. is

[126] Misenum is approx. 160 miles/256 km from Rome; it seems impossible that news could travel such a distance in 48 hours (6.5.2n. *nec multo*).

[127] For the provocative suggestion that Book 6 'did not end where the text currently stops' see C. Ando, 'Tacitus, *Annales* VI: beginning and end', *AJP* 118 (1997) 285–303, at 298–9, with an illustration of the last page of the MS (fo. 138r) at Plate 6.

also appropriate to a rough sea-voyage ([Quint.] *Decl.* 12.20 'inter metus tempestatium et ancipites incerti maris casus'). *prima infantia* (4× in T.) occurs earlier only in a fragment of Seneca: though usually ascribed to the lost history of the Elder (F2C = 1P), linguistic evidence suggests rather a lost philosophical treatise by the Younger (see *PH* 176–9 for discussion). The later exs. are Front. p. 178 vdH², *HA Marc. Ant. Phil.* 2.1.1.

nam . . . multis aemulis conflictatus est Tib.'s journey into exile (*secutus*) develops metaphorically into a rough voyage as he encounters the successive rivals listed in the *dum*-clause: *conflictor* is the *mot juste* for being buffeted by the elements (*Agr.* 22.1 'conflictatum saeuis tempestatibus', *H.* 3.59.2 and H., Caes. *C.* 3.28.5, Suet. *Aug.* 17.3). See also below (n. *frater*). T. seems to be our only evidence that Tib.'s father, Ti. Claudius Nero, was proscribed; for the story of the family's flight see 5.1.1nn., and, for Livia's marriage to the future Augustus (the date of which is unclear), 5.1.2nn.

dum . . . uiguere Although Tib. himself was not seen as a successor to Augustus until his adoption in AD 4, the men listed here are (as it were) his proleptic rivals and are arranged in terms of their potential as Augustus' successors: this explains why Lucius Caesar, who died (in AD 2) two years before his brother, is named after Gaius, who was born (in 20 BC) three years before him and was thus the elder. Marcellus, the son of Augustus' sister Octavia, died in 23 BC; Agrippa died in 12 BC. For Augustus and his plans for the succession see e.g. A. L. Kuttner, *Dynasty and empire in the age of Augustus* (1995).

frater eius Drusus prosperiore ciuium amore erat *prosperus*, not elsewhere found with *amor* (but used with *fauor* at 2.41.3), is regular of journeying and in particular of navigational winds (cf. *TLL* 10.2.2213.68ff., 2214.69ff., adding *H.* 4.49.2) and hence sustains the travel imagery: unlike his brother, Drusus enjoyed favourable conditions during his lifetime (he died in 9 BC). For the 'breath of popular favour' see N–R on Hor. *C.* 3.2.20; *TLL* 2.14.79.49ff.; see also Brock 120 and n. 119. For the affection in which the elder Drusus was held see 5.4.2n. (*populus*).

51.2 *ma*xime in lubrico egit accepta in *ma*trimonium Iulia Tib. was obliged by Augustus to divorce his wife Vipsania and to marry Julia, Augustus' daughter, in 11 BC after the death of her previous husband, Agrippa. The travel metaphor continues, although Tib. has moved from sea to land and is now on treacherous ground (for *in lubrico* see further 1.72.1n.).

impudicitiam uxoris tolerans aut declinans Julia's *impudicitia* (again at 3.24.2) was notorious: see e.g. Vell. 100.3 and nn.; Syme, *AA* 90–2, *RP* 3.924ff. (the concept is treated by Langlands [329–48 on T.] but with scarcely any reference to Julia). *aut* here means something like *modo . . . modo* (see 1.8.2n.), *tolerans* and *declinans* referring respectively to the periods before and

during Tib.'s retirement to Rhodes in 6 BC, which was said to have been caused, at least in part, by the adulteries of his wife (1.53.1, Suet. *Tib.* 10.1), whom he was compelled by Augustus to divorce in 2 BC (Suet. *Tib.* 11.4). *declinans* ('dodging, avoiding': *OLD* 5) both looks back to and foreshadows the *princeps*' behaviour after his retirement to Capri (15.3 and n. *deuiis*). For *tolerare* see 3.1.1n.

Rhodo regressus AD 2 (Vell. 103.1).

uacuos principis penates duodecim annis . . . obtinuit It is remarkable that the crucial event of Tib.'s adoption by Augustus in AD 4, to which reference is made at 1.3.3 and (in contemptuous indirect discourse) 1.7.7 and which is treated fulsomely by the contemporary Velleius (103.2–104.1), is here ignored altogether: if the text is right (and no one seems to have questioned it), the twelve years can only be AD 2–14, although Gaius Caesar's death did not leave the *princeps*' house vacant until AD 4. It is as if Tib. remained the *priuignus* mentioned above (51.1); yet, since he would no longer have been *sui iuris* after the adoption (Levick (1966) 232), a reference to his changed but continuing subordinate status would not have been out of place. See also H. Lindsay, *Adoption in the Roman world* (2009) 197–200, and in general C. Kunst, *Römische Adoption: zur Strategie einer Familienorganisation* (2005). For *uacuos . . . penates* see Stat. *Silv.* 4.7.30, [Quint.] *Decl.* 1.2; for the abl. of the duration of time see K–S 1.360–1.

51.3 Tiberius' mores

It is the second part of the obituary which has above all attracted the attention and controversy. According to the traditional interpretation, which was expounded by Martin (*Tac.* 104–7, 139–43, *ANRW* 1514–15, 1550) and re-emphasised in his commentary (ad loc. and Appendix 2), T. regarded a person's character – his *ingenium* – as fixed at birth and immutable thereafter. Since the final stage of Tib.'s life is described by the expression *suo . . . ingenio utebatur*, and since (as Martin repeatedly emphasises) *ingenium* here means Tib.'s 'basic' or 'true' character, it is clear that T. is saying that the *princeps* 'resorted to his own character' (or words to that effect: see ad loc.). The reference to the removal of shame and fear is explained by the individuals who are named in the previous stages of the *princeps*' life and who acted as restraining influences upon him: 'as the restraining influences . . . were removed by death, he discarded one mask after another' until his 'innate wickedness' was revealed (*ANRW* 1550; App. 2, p. 199). Up to that point, any contrary evidence of apparent goodness or of absent vices was to be attributed to the *simulatio* or *dissimulatio* which are such prominent features of his portrayal in T.'s narrative and which are rendered here in the obituary notice by the phrases *fingendis uirtutibus* and *obtectis libidinibus*.

Although the 'unmasking' of 'the true Tiberius' is an essential element of this interpretation and is mentioned several times by Martin, there is in fact no evidence for 'unmasking' in T.'s Latin: it is purely a readerly construct. Nevertheless the gradual revelation of the *princeps*' evil character has seemed so appealing a notion that the above interpretation of the obituary has been accepted almost universally; yet it involves problems which are admitted even by those who accept it. (1) The pairing of Germanicus and Drusus to designate the second stage of Tib.'s life is inexplicable: 'since the deaths of Germanicus (AD 19) and Drusus (AD 23) are separated by almost four years and by more than a whole book', writes Martin (ad loc.), 'it is not immediately obvious why Tacitus should regard the deaths of both young men as marking one single period.' (2) 'There is no indication in Tacitus or anywhere else that Tiberius' behaviour was motivated by regard or fear of either Germanicus or Drusus' (Martin, *Tac.* 141). (3) 'There may seem to be an incompatibility', remarks Martin with some understatement, between the picture of AD 14–23 that emerges from the obituary and what Tacitus' own account says at 4.6.2–4, according to which 'until AD 23 the reign of Tiberius had been one of almost unqualified excellence' (App. 2, p. 199). (4) 'There is a real difficulty about the third and fourth stages', says Martin (*Tac.* 141). The implication that Sejanus only begins to exercise decisive influence upon Tib. after Livia's death 'is contrary to the assertions' of the start of Book 4 and 'is belied by the whole narrative of events between 23 and 29'. Moreover, Sejanus' influence as described in the narrative is one of incitement, whereas in the obituary it is one of restraint.

These acknowledged problems, many of them involving a flat contradiction with T.'s own narrative, seem fundamental enough in themselves; yet there are others which can be adduced. (5) Martin dismissed the first stage of the obituary on the grounds that it 'antedates the starting point of the *Annals* and need not concern us' (*Tac.* 140); but this is not so: Tib. had a long life before he became *princeps*, and it is described by T. as simply 'egregium', with no suggestion of feigned virtues or hidden vices. *egregium* is hard, if not impossible, to reconcile with a man whose true and fixed character is supposedly that of a degenerate criminal. *egregium* can be reconciled with the 'innate wickedness' of the final stage only if we assume that Tib.'s character changed in the intervening years. (6) In the final period of Tib.'s life, when the various named individuals are all dead and he has nothing to restrain him, the traditional interpretation should have him free of all *dissimulatio*; yet T. continues to ascribe *dissimulatio* to the emperor even on his death-bed (6.50.1).[128] This is a contradiction. (7) If the expression *suo ingenio utebatur* means 'he resorted

[128] See A. R. Hands, 'Postremum suo tantum ingenio utebatur', *CQ* 24 (1974) 312–17.

to his own character', how are we to account for the presence of the adverb *tantum*? If *ingenium* is the fixed element which makes individuals what they are, Tib., by very definition, *cannot* have not followed his own character and *cannot* have followed the *ingenium* of anyone else. (8) Finally, it has been shown by Gill on various grounds that it is mistaken to think that the ancients believed only in fixed characters and had no conception of character change: indeed T. himself twice expresses awareness of this possibility, applying it to this very *princeps* as recently as 48.2 (*mutatus*; cf. *H.* 1.50.4 'in melius mutatus est'). For those who accept the traditional interpretation of the obituary notice, Gill's demonstration entirely invalidates the basis of their argument.

In 1989 I proposed a two-part argument which takes care of several of these problems simultaneously.[129] (1) I pointed out that what all four of the last-named individuals have in common is that each of them is described, either in the *Annals* or elsewhere, as an official helper (*adiutor*) or associate (*socius*) of the emperor; and I argued that this role, crucial in Tib.'s reign but important also in that of other emperors,[130] explained why they were used by T. to designate the various stages of Tib.'s life as *princeps*. (2) In the light of this evidence I then argued that *suo tantum ingenio utebatur* means 'he used only his own *ingenium*' and that *ingenium* here means 'talent': that is, during the three previous stages of his life Tib. had used the *ingenium* of each of the individuals named there (for this meaning of the expr. cf. *H.* 1.90.2 'in rebus urbanis Galeri Trachali ingenio Othonem uti credebatur'), but during the final stage of his life, when his helpers had all died, 'he had only himself to rely on'.

This interpretation 'has not won general acceptance', says Martin (App. 2, p. 199),[131] who himself devotes substantial notes and a whole appendix to defending the traditional interpretation and attacking mine. He raises three

[129] 'Tacitus' obituary of Tiberius', *CQ* 39 (1989) 197–205 = *Tac. Rev.* 155–67, q.v. for the full argument.

[130] See E. Kornemann, *Doppelprinzipat und Reichsteilung im Imperium Romanum* (1930), P. Grenade, *Essai sur les origines du principat* (1961) 444ff. ('Les charges du pouvoir et la théorie des "adiutores imperii"'), F. Hurlet, *Les collègues du prince sous Auguste et Tibère* (1997).

[131] Martin's words are echoed by M. Hausmann, *Die Leserlenkung durch Tacitus in den Tiberius- und Claudiusbüchern der* Annalen (2009) 39 n. 129, although he makes no mention of Martin (not listed in his bibliography), instead referring with approval to M. Vielberg, 'Ingenium und mores: Beobachtungen zur historischen Begriffsbildung an Tac. *Ann.* 6,51,3', *Mnem.* 49 (1996) 452-6, esp. 455 n. 2. Describing my position as 'unverständlich', Vielberg [i] complains that I failed to refer to the work of one 'Hoffmann', to which he himself fails to refer (his missing reference should be H. Hoffmann, 'Morum tempora diversa. Charakterwandel bei Tacitus', *Gymn.* 75 (1968) 220-50), [ii] criticises me for failing to recognise that, like ἤθη and φύσις, *mores* and *ingenium* are a regular pairing and as such are found elsewhere

objections to my argument (App. 2, p. 199). (1) He says that 'the role of *adiutor* to Tiberius cannot apply to the first period of the obituary, when Tiberius was himself subordinate to Augustus'. This is a strange objection from a scholar who in the case of his own interpretation was obliged to dismiss entirely any consideration of that same first period (above, p. 291); but in fact I naturally never claimed that my hypothesis of *adiutores* or *socii* was applicable to Tib.'s life under Augustus, T.'s reference to which I explained quite differently (*Tac. Rev.* 161; see below, pp. 303–4). This first objection is quite irrelevant. (2) Martin adds that my hypothesis is not applicable to the third period of the obituary, 'when the relationship between Tiberius and his mother was one of increasing antagonism'. Yet I acknowledged this antagonism (*Tac. Rev.* 159) by quoting the very passage where T. himself refers to their partnership in antagonistic terms (4.57.3). Whatever the relationship between mother and son, the *princeps* could not do without her: history is littered with examples of such 'love-hate' relationships, and its ambivalent status seems quintessentially Tiberian. Indeed what is said of his relationship with Sejanus immediately afterwards ('dilexit timuitue') is strikingly similar. (3) Martin maintains that my hypothesis has 'a crucial weakness' apropos of the period AD 14–23 in that I make 'no attempt to explain why Tacitus signalizes that period as one of "concealment and cunning at feigning virtues"'. But, even on the assumption that this is what T.'s Latin means (see ad loc.), this objection too is irrelevant, since I never claimed that in any of the stages there was any directly causal relationship between the emperor's *adiutores* and his deteriorating character. The deterioration was caused by the repeated *loss* of his successive *adiutores*. Martin has projected onto my interpretation the causal relationship for which he sought in vain in his own interpretation. In short, there is no substance to the three objections which Martin thought he could bring against my interpretation.[132]

51.3 Morum quoque tempora illi diuersa It would be nice to think that, in writing these words, T. had in mind Tib.'s own statement, perhaps echoing the elder Cato (*ORF* fr. 93), that he would never change his *mores*

in T.'s work also at *H.* 3.62.2, 5.8.2 and *A.* 14.19 (the second of these is a wrong reference for *A.* 5.8.2, just as '*Hist.* 4.33.2' later is a wrong reference for *A.* 4.33.2); but in all three passages *ingenium* clearly means 'talent' and has nothing to do with φύσις. As for Vielberg's implication (with reference to Häussler, *Tac.* 322) that the expressions *suo ingenio uti* and *suo ingenio uiuere* are interchangeable and mean the same thing, see my detailed discussion of *suo ingenio uti* (below).

[132] More detailed linguistic and other evidence in support of the above paragraphs will be found in the following annotations; see also the Appendix. More recently, Ihrig (141ff.) has a detailed discussion of the obituary.

(quoted in Suet. *Tib.* 67.3): 'ait similem se semper sui futurum nec umquam mutaturum mores suos quamdiu sanae mentis fuisset; sed exempli causa cauendum esse ne se senatus in acta cuiusquam obligaret, quia aliquo casu mutari posset'.

The different periods of Tib.'s *mores* are clearly marked by the expressions of time with which each of them is concluded. *tempus* is subject of the first two periods, Tiberius ('idem') of the last three.[133] Although current convention is to regard each of the last three as a separate sentence, Nipperdey–Andresen saw *prorupit* as the only main verb, with *mixtus* and *intestabilis* as in apposition to the subject;[134] however, this arrangement ignores T.'s careful structuring of the passage. Each of the five periods consists of two elements: in the first period the two are equally good ('egregium *uita famaq*ue'), in the fifth period the two are equally bad ('*scelera* simul ac *dedecora*'). The intervening periods chart the progression from the first to the fifth, pivoting around the third, which is the central period of the five; and each period comprises a modification of the preceding period. Thus in the first three periods the common thread is goodness (*egregium uita*→*uirtutibus*→*bona*), while in each case the second element is modified (*fama*→*occultum ac subdolum*→*mala*); and in the last three periods the common thread is badness (*mala*→*saeuitia*→*scelera*), while in each case the second element is again modified (*bona*→*obtectis libidinibus*→*dedecora*).

The duration of each of the three central periods of Tib.'s *mores* is demarcated by the continuing existence of the helpers named in each case: [2] 'donec Germanicus ac Drusus superfuere'; [3] 'incolumi matre'; [4] 'dum Seianum dilexit timuitue'. The corollary of this formulation is that it is the death of a helper which initiates a new stage in the *princeps*' deterioration, and in the narrative T. manipulates the complementary elements of death and deterioration for maximum dramatic effect by associating them with the beginnings of books. The most elaborate of these transitions, not surprisingly, is the first, which occurs half-way through the hexad at the start of Book 4: repeated statements of deterioration (4.1.1 'repente turbare fortuna coepit',

[133] Pichena and Acidalius proposed to make Tib. the subject throughout, the former by changing the adjectives *egregium*, *occultum* and *subdolum* to datives (agreeing with *illi*), the latter to nominatives. But in neither case is it obvious why the alleged corruption should have occurred; and Pichena's suggestion has the additional disadvantage of depriving us of a 'headline' sentence parallel to that at 51.1 (see above, p. 287). For the use of *tempus* cf. Cic. *Lig.* 4–5 'haec duo tempora carent crimine . . . ; tertium tempus . . . si est criminosum . . . ' (adduced in Ruperti's comm.).

[134] On the latter view *saeuitia* cannot of course be nominative, which is otherwise theoretically possible ('there was unspeakable savagery') and seemingly assumed by Martin (*ANRW* 1515).

4.6.1 'Tiberio mutati in deterius principatus initium ille annus attulit') are emphasised by a retrospective digression on the excellence of the preceding period (4.6.2–4), which in turn leads to the introduction of Drusus' death (4.7.1 'donec morte Drusi uerterentur'). The second transition employs the converse technique: Book 5 opens dramatically with the death of Livia (5.1.1), and it is only afterwards that T. introduces the further deterioration which resulted from it (5.3.1 'ex eo praerupta iam et urgens dominatio'). Unfortunately the loss of most of Book 5 means that we cannot know how T. handled the death of Sejanus; but the sexual depravities which distinguished Tib.'s final period from the penultimate are reserved for the brilliant survey of them at the very start of Book 6 (1.1–2), which is perhaps the most dramatic opening of all (above, p. 83). The periodisation which is outlined in the obituary notice corresponds exactly to the structuring of the hexad. It is perhaps worth adding that classical drama was conventionally structured in five acts (Brink on Hor. *AP* 189–90); ironically, in view of Tib.'s final years, the last act was supposed to be the best (Cic. *Q. Fr.* 1.1(1).46; Powell on Cic. *Senec.* 64, quoting *Sent. Pythag.* 174a = *Append. Vat.* 369 Τοῦ βίου καθάπερ δράματος, τὰ τελευταῖα δεῖ κάλλιστα εἶναι).

egregium uita famaque quoad priuatus uel in imperiis sub Augusto fuit The period as a whole is that from Tib.'s birth in 42 BC to Augustus' death in August AD 14, and *egregium uita famaque* silently corrects the malign rumours which preceded Tib.'s accession (1.4.3–4). More specifically, the years of Tib.'s career which were 'exceptional in fame' were especially those which he spent 'in commands under Augustus' (20–7 BC, AD 6–10) and which were celebrated by Horace (*C.* 4.4, 14) and Velleius (2.94–8, 104–20). The years when Tib. was a *priuatus* were, most noticeably, 6 BC–AD 2, when he withdrew to Rhodes (cf. Vell. 99.4 'priuato, si illa maiestas priuata umquam fuit', of this period). It is important for T.'s perception and presentation of the *princeps* that before AD 14 he was his own master only in the years when he was a *priuatus* and that otherwise he exercised command 'under' his adoptive father (for this use of *sub* with a person to indicate 'political dominance' see Brink on Hor. *Epist.* 2, App. 7): this key element is well illustrated by what T. says of the two men at 3.56.2 'simul modestiae Neronis et suae magnitudini fidebat [sc. Augustus]'; see further the Appendix. *uita* and *fama* (again at 15.50.3, *H.* 1.42, 3.28, 4.7.1) are regularly combined (Cic. Hor. Liv. Plin. min.); *egregium tempus* recurs at 3.40.3.

occultum ac subdolum fingendis uirtutibus What does this expression mean? The usual interpretation has Tib. 'feigning' virtue(s), the implication being that all his good qualities in the years AD 14–23 were false; but this notion does not square with his description in the next phase, where his

good qualities are genuine (*bona*), although mixed with bad (*mala*). Since it is accepted that in the obituary the phases of Tib.'s *mores* are arranged in descending order of goodness, the period 14–23 must be better than 23–9. This seems to be confirmed by the narrative itself, since T. sums up the period 14–23 in almost exclusively laudatory terms, with not even a suggestion that Tib.'s goodness was feigned (4.6.2–4). It seems to follow that the *uirtutes* to which T. refers in the present sentence must be genuine and hence that the phrase means something like '(a period) mysterious and deceptive in the way he fashioned/formed his virtues' (for the abl. of manner see 6.24.3); the verb has a somewhat similar sense when applied to the virtues of *industria* and *uigilantia* at 4.1.3 ('haud minus noxiae, quotiens parando regno finguntur').[135] It is not that the *princeps*' virtues were false; they were genuine, but the period in which they were manifested was not straightforward. The point is illustrated by precisely the same passage which summarises the excellence of the years 14–23 (above). Having itemised the *princeps*' virtues at some length (4.6.2–4), T. adds: 'quae cuncta non quidem comi uia, sed horridus ac plerumque formidatus, retinebat tamen' (4.7.1; cf. 1.75.4 'cupidine seueritatis in iis etiam quae rite faceret acerbus'). In other words, there was a mismatch between what Tib. did and the way in which he did it; his actions were those of the good king, but his manner was that of a tyrant – and it was his manner which attracted the greater attention. Appearances were deceptive, and not helped by the facts that the *princeps* was notoriously difficult to 'read' (e.g. 3.22.2 'haud facile quis dispexerit . . . mentem principis: adeo uertit ac miscuit irae et clementiae signa', 3.51.1 'solitis sibi ambagibus') and that even his good actions were misinterpreted.[136] It is the disjunction between actions and manner which constitutes the difference from the first period of Tib.'s career, which was exceptional in life and reputation alike ('egregium uita famaque'). See further Syme, *Tac.* 428–9.

donec Germanicus ac Drusus superfuere The pairing of the two brothers, inexplicable on the traditional interpretation of the obituary (above, p. 291), is to be explained by the fact that both were employed as their father's

[135] At Val. Max. 5.4 *ext.* 5 ('quid ergo doctrina proficit? ut politiora scilicet, non ut meliora fiant ingenia, quoniam quidem solida uirtus nascitur magis quam fingitur') the same expression means 'created' ('since sterling virtue is born rather than made': Shackleton Bailey).

[136] Cf. esp. 4.38.4–5 (partly quoted at 45.1n. *contemptu*), where Tib. in a noble speech declines the honour of a temple in Spain, a refusal which was interpreted by some as the virtue *modestia* but by others as the sign of a degenerate mind and contempt for virtue. (This example of course belongs to the subsequent period of Tib.'s reign.)

assistants (Strabo 6.4.2 οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ Γερμανικός τε καὶ Δροῦσος ὑπουργοῦντες τῷ πατρί) until Germanicus died in 19 (2.72.2). At that point the senate begged Tib. to devolve upon Drusus the entire burden of responsibility which previously the brothers had shared between them (*SCPP* 126–7 'magnopere rogare ac petere [sc. senatum] ut omnem curam quam in duos quondam filios suos partitus erat ad eum quem haberet conuerteret'),[137] and, when Tib. proposed the *tribunicia potestas* for Drusus three years later, T. comments that during Germanicus' lifetime the *princeps* had made no distinction between the brothers (3.56.3 'cum incolumi Germanico integrum inter duos iudicium tenuisset'), whose promotions had been *pari passu* (see further Levick (1966) 239–44; also *PH* 301–4). Drusus' *tribunicia potestas* marked a further stage in his role as his father's helper (3.56.4 'noti laboris participem'), but it may be surmised that during the years 20–22 Sejanus had started an attempt on taking Germanicus' place, which explains Drusus' complaint about him (cf. 4.7.1 'incolumi filio adiutorem imperii alium uocari'). Drusus himself died in 23 (4.8.1–2), his death marking the end of the second phase of Tib.'s *mores*.

idem inter bona malaque mixtus incolumi matre *idem* (a) switches the subject from *tempus* to Tib. himself, (b) indicates that the same person is under discussion as before (*OLD* 6–7), and, above all, (c) underlines that the opposites *bona malaque* were manifested in the same person (*OLD* 10; Oakley on Liv. 9.16.13). The balance suggested by *idem . . . mixtus* comes appropriately in the central period of the five, after which *mala* are unmitigated by any good qualities. It is also striking and perhaps suggestive that Tib. should here be described in terms which recall the final stage of Hesiod's five-stage deterioration of man (*W&D* 179 μεμείξεται ἐσθλὰ κακοῖσιν, with West's n.). Note also Mucianus at *H.* 1.10.2 'bonis malisque artibus mixtus'.

The extraordinary power which Livia wielded during her son's principate is described vividly and at length by Dio (57.12), who likens her to a ruler in her own right (57.12.3 ὡς καὶ αὐταρχοῦσα); in much the same way she is described as *Romana princeps* at *Cons. Liv.* 355–6 'an melius per te uirtutum exempla petemus, | quam si Romanae principis edis opus?'. Her power was esp.

[137] According to the usual interpretation of this passage, *curam* means 'care', but it would be grossly offensive of the senate to imply that Tiberius was not already displaying wholehearted care for his surviving son, especially since his personal preference for Drusus over Germanicus was well known (2.43.5, 6.46.1). The interpretation in the text above is adopted by E. A. Meyer in her review of Eck et al. (*CJ* 93 (1998) 323), is surely correct, and is supported by the passage at 3.56.3 (quoted above), which seems almost to echo it.

evident during the trial of Calpurnius Piso (*SCPP* 115–18); see further 5.3.1n. (*perfugium*), and also N. Purcell, 'Livia and the womanhood of Rome', *PCPS* 32 (1986) 78–105. T. specifically describes her as Tib.'s 'partner in domination' at 4.57.3 'quam *dominationis sociam* aspernabatur neque depellere poterat, cum dominationem ipsam donum eius accepisset' (AD 26). The statement that her son spurned her and (by implication) wanted to be rid of her does not contradict the general thesis (above, p. 293) that she had been one of the helpers on whom he relied: relations between the two had initially been cordial but had gradually deteriorated during the course of the reign (cf. 3.64.1 'sincera adhuc inter matrem filiumque concordia'; AD 22), and the extraordinary rise of Sejanus, on whom Tib. relied increasingly after Germanicus' death in 19, meant that by AD 26 the *princeps* felt in a position to dispense with his mother's help even if he was unable to be free of her. When she eventually died in 29 (5.1.1), her death released Tib. and Sejanus from the constraints under which they had been operating and 'uelut frenis exsoluti proruperunt' (5.3.1 and n.).

intestabilis saeuitiā sed obtectis libidinibus dum Seianum dilexit timuitue sc. *erat*: for the common *uariatio* of adj. ~ abl. phrase see Sörbom 90. The period is that up to Sejanus' death in AD 31. The sentence functions as an ex. of so-called 'double zeugma' (5.4.4n. *audiri*): Tib.'s affection for Sejanus fostered his *saeuitia*, while his fear of him forced a cover-up of his *libidines*. The view that *dilexit* and *timuit* are to be understood consecutively makes almost no sense: on this hypothesis Tib. had no fear of Sejanus until he discovered that the latter was plotting against him, and this discovery was not made until very shortly before Sejanus' execution.[138]

Sejanus is described as Tib.'s *adiutor* by his contemporary Velleius (127.3 'singularem principalium onerum adiutorem in omnia habuit atque habet'; cf. 128.4 'ad iuuanda . . . opera principis'), who devotes two substantial paragraphs to defending the employment of *adiutores*, and as his *socius* by T. himself (4.2.3 'ut socium laborum non modo in sermonibus sed apud patres et populum celebraret'); see also Dio 57.19.7 σύμβουλον καὶ ὑπηρέτην πρὸς πάντα ἐποιεῖτο, 58.4.3 ὕπατόν τε αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε καὶ κοινωνὸν τῶν φροντίδων ὠνό μαζε. It is unclear when Sejanus came to be assigned this role: Drusus is represented as already resenting it in 23 (4.7.1 'querens incolumi filio adiutorem imperii alium uocari'). The likelihood is that Sejanus gradually insinuated himself into the position left vacant on Germanicus' death in 19.

[138] Martin changed his mind on this issue: in 1990 he believed that *dilexit timuitue* were 'contemporaneous alternatives' and that Tib.'s attitude towards Sejanus 'was a compound of love and fear' (*ANRW* 1515 and n. 47); but in 2001 in his commentary he stated that the other view 'seems more likely'.

***post*remo in *s*celera *s*imul ac dedecora *p*rorupit *post*quam remoto *p*udore et metu suo tantum ingenio utebatur** This alliterative and assonantal summary of the years 31–37 is modelled on Sall. *H.* 1.12 'POSTQUAM REMOTO METU PUnico SIMULtates exercere uacuum fuit, plurimae turbae, seditiones et ad POSTREMum bella ciuilia orta sunt.' Sallust is voicing the theory of *metus hostilis* (cf. *J.* 41.2 'metus hostilis in bonis artibus ciuitatem retinebat'), according to which Roman society started to degenerate once Carthage had finally been defeated and the threat of an attack had been removed.[139] Sallust's theory has been transferred from Roman society as a whole and applied significantly to the individual who now dominated and represented Roman society: the *princeps*. See F. Klingner, 'Tacitus über Augustus und Tiberius', *SBAW*, *Phil.-hist. Kl.* 7 (1953) 45 = *Studien zur griechischen und römischen Literatur* (1964) 658. It is important to note, however, that the application is by no means straightforward.

Whereas the first three periods of Tib.'s *mores* were defined by temporal expressions which expressed merely time, the fourth period was different in that it was defined by Tib.'s reaction to Sejanus. This reaction, unlike the *metus* which Rome had felt for Carthage, was twofold: Tib. loved Sejanus as well as feared him ('dilexit timuitue'), and, as has been seen (previous n.), his affection for him fostered his own criminal savagery, whereas his fear of him obliged a cover-up of his vices. What distinguishes this fifth period from the fourth is that, while Tib.'s criminal savagery continues unchanged after 31 (*scelera* ~ *saeuitia*), Sejanus' death has released him from his fear of him, with the result that on Capri he can now indulge in the vices (*dedecora*) which he had previously been obliged to conceal (~ *libidinibus*). This release is expressed by the phrase *remoto pudore et metu*,[140] where the two nouns correspond to the two actions in the fourth period which have now undergone change in the light of Sejanus' death: *metu* looks back to *timuit* and *pudore* to *obtectis* (for the natural relationship between shame and concealment see e.g. Sen. *Ep.* 10.27 'quicquid aut metu aut pudore celabat', Suet. *Tib.* 66.1 'ut prae pudore ignota et celata cuncta cuperet').[141]

[139] Repeated at Vell. 2.1.1 'remoto Carthaginis metu sublataque imperii aemula non gradu sed praecipiti cursu a uirtute descitum, ad uitia transcursum'; for other exs. of the phrase *remoto metu* cf. *Agr.* 15.1, Sall. *J.* 87.4, Amm. 18.10.4 (*remoue metum* at Liv. 2.2.7).

[140] *pudor* and *metus* are a regular combination (9× in T. alone): see e.g. H. on *H.* 3.12.2, who refers to W. D. Lebek, *Hermes* 94 (1966) 371 n. 2, where other similar combinations, incl. the Greek αἰδώς καὶ δέος, are illustrated. *remouere pudorem* recurs only at Ov. *M.* 8.157.

[141] There is no contradiction with the statement at the start of Book 6 that, despite Sejanus' death, shame prevented Tib. from practising his sexual vices *on the mainland* (1.1).

What does *suo tantum ingenio utebatur* mean? Standard English translations are: 'nothing remained but to follow his own bent' (Jackson); 'he followed only his own inclination' (Martin); 'he was simply himself' (Damon); 'he simply followed his own inclinations' (Yardley). These translations misleadingly disguise the fact that their authors believe *ingenium* to refer to Tib.'s true character which was fixed at his moment of birth. As has already been said (above, pp. 291–2), if *ingenium* is believed to mean 'true' or 'basic' character, the words can mean only 'he resorted to only his own true character' – as if it were somehow possible for him *not* to resort to his own true character. Nevertheless, since the translators obscure the issue, let us examine it on their own terms.

Martin explains that '*ingenio suo/meo uti* . . . idiomatically means "follow one's own bent or inclination"', implying that these are regular expressions; but he quotes only the two passages already adduced by Koestermann (Curt. 8.8.4 and Petron. 64.9), of which only the former actually illustrates the phrase: 'in ceteros, qui mihi permittunt uti ingenio meo, quam mitis sim non ignaris commemorare superuacuum est'. There are three other exs. involving a possessive adj.: Ov. *Tr.* 2.116–17 'ingenio certe non latet illa meo, | quo uidear quamuis nimium iuuenaliter usus . . . ' ('I made too much of my talent'), Plin. *NH* 36.117 'ingenio ergo utendum suo Curioni et aliquid excogitandum fuit' ('Curio therefore had to rely on his own wits'), Sen. *Cons. Pol.* 18.4 'noli ergo contra te ingenio uti tuo, noli adesse dolori tuo' ('don't use your own talent against yourself'). This evidence scarcely supports the 'idiomatic meaning' mentioned by Martin.

Examples of *ingenio uti* without a possessive adj. are slightly more numerous: Liv. 27.41.6 'consul ingenio hostis usus' ('using a trick of the enemy'), 34.61.14 'Aristo Punico ingenio inter Poenos usus' ('using a Punic trick against the Poeni'), Vell. 2.13.1 'meliore in omnia ingenio animoque quam fortuna usus' ('in every respect a man of better talent and spirit than success'), Ascon. *Mil.* p. 39 'aduersus hominem ingeniosum non ingenio usi sumus' ('against a talented man we did not use our talent'), Petron. 64.9 'Scylax, canino scilicet usus ingenio, taeterrimo latratu triclinium impleuit' ('Scylax, of course relying on his canine talent [*or perhaps* expressing his doggy nature], filled the dining-room with the most awful barking'), 112.8 'usus est miles ingenio prudentissimae feminae' ('the soldier used the far-seeing woman's device'). Since the only possible example here (it is the second of the passages quoted by Martin) is doubtful and concerns a dog, this evidence too seems unhelpful to the traditional interpretation of T.'s last four words. The usual translations of these words cannot be defended even on their own terms.

It seems clear from the passages assembled above that the meaning of the expression *ingenio uti*, with or without a possessive adj., depends upon the context in which it is used. The present context describes a process by which Tib. as *princeps* was deprived successively of the four individuals who are attested

as his helpers; and it is this gradual deprivation which explains why *suo* is emphasised by the adverb *tantum*: after he had lost each of the individuals whose *ingenium* he had been using in the years 14–31 (for this meaning cf. *H.* 1.90.2 'in rebus urbanis Galeri Trachali ingenio Othonem uti credebatur'), in the last period of his life Tib. was obliged to use 'only his own *ingenium*'. For *postquam* + imperf. indic. see 15.1n. (*postquam*).

APPENDIX
THE TACITEAN TIBERIUS

'Is the Tacitean Tiberius largely and mainly the creation of the author?'[1] Modern readers of the *Annals* cannot know how the Tacitean Tiberius relates to the real Tiberius. Tacitus was writing a century after Tiberius came to power in AD 14,[2] and in the ancient world, where the difficulties of communicating and transmitting information continue to be underestimated by today's scholars, the lapse of a significant period of time represented a formidable barrier to genuine knowledge of the past. Again, Tacitus wrote history according to contemporary conventions, which were very different from, and in many ways antithetical to, the principles taken for granted by modern historians.[3] Finally, Tacitus was an exceptionally individualistic writer and his portrait of Tiberius gives every impression of being highly personalised, to the extent that some readers see Tacitus himself in his account of Tiberius.[4] It is the Tacitean Tiberius with whom we are obliged to deal.[5]

[1] Syme, *Tac.* 420. [2] For the significance of AD 114 see 4.5.2n.

[3] See in general *RICH* 70–116, reprinted with addendum in J. Marincola (ed.), *Greek and Roman historiography* (2011) 241–90; see also *CJ* 104 (2008) 23–31. Syme has Tacitus doing 'historical research', exactly as if he were a modern historian: repeatedly he refers to Tacitus' use of 'documents' and says that 'naturally' Tacitus neglected the historians who wrote under Tiberius (*Tac.* 420, 421 and n. 6; cf. 426, 430 and n. 1).

[4] See Grethlein 155, with further references. Champlin (2008: 418–19) has suggested that the anonymous source on whom, according to E. Schwartz, Tacitus relied was 'intimately familiar with Tiberius' complex character' and was in fact himself 'rather like Tiberius'. It is an irony that similar observations have sometimes been made about Syme: see e.g. A. Momigliano, *Essays in ancient and modern historiography* (1974) 70 'Syme attributes his own moods and tastes to the historians he studies. His images of Thucydides, Sallust, Livy, Tacitus . . . have a common denominator which is Syme himself.'

[5] Denied by Syme, *Tac.* 420–1. The present Appendix aims at synthesising the Tiberius whose depiction by Tacitus is discussed in more detail in the

It is not to be doubted that Tacitus' final view of Tiberius is presented in the obituary notice of the *princeps* which occupies the final paragraph of Book 6. Although numerous scholars have believed that the second part of the obituary, in which Tiberius' *mores* are analysed, somehow conflicts with the narrative of Books 1–6, it is *a priori* unlikely that a writer of acknowledged brilliance lapsed into inconsistency at this final moment.[6]

Whereas Augustus had single-mindedly eliminated all five of his rivals on his own route to power (1.2.1), he chose Tiberius as his successor only after the passage of almost three decades, during which his five preferred candidates had died prematurely (1.3.1–3); and, while Tiberius was then made 'collega imperii' and given the tribunician power, Augustus obliged him to adopt Germanicus (1.3.3–5; cf. 4.57.3) and, when Tiberius' tribunician power was due for renewal, Augustus took the opportunity to apologise for Tiberius' alleged shortcomings in front of the senate (1.10.7). It is perhaps not surprising that, when Augustus' health began to fail and contemporaries speculated on the likely nature of a Tiberian principate, their predictions resulted in a paradox. On the one hand Tiberius had maturity and experience, an outstanding military and political record, and the right family background; once he became *princeps*, however, he would become enslaved to his mother and two sons (1.4.3–5). Thanks to authorial hindsight, these contemporaries have expressed the essential truth about Tiberius, that his prolonged subordination to – and even humiliation by – Augustus had resulted in a successor with a perceived inferiority complex; and, while it was this very diffidence or *modestia* (as it was called) which allowed Augustus to bestow the tribunician power upon him with impunity (3.56.2 'modestiae Neronis . . . fidebat'), the

Commentary; it is in no sense an attempt to whitewash the 'real' Tiberius in the manner despised by Syme.

[6] 'Tacitus is both over-rigid and inconsistent', says Syme (*Tac.* 422), who also detected revisions and later insertions (e.g. *Tac.* 695–6).

corollary was that Tiberius' ability to take over as the sole ruler of the Roman world was severely compromised.[7]

When Augustus died, Livia announced that Tiberius was in charge (1.5.4 'rerum potiri Neronem'), whereupon the consuls and everyone else hastened to swear allegiance to Tiberius as the new Caesar (1.7.2); but Tacitus makes it clear both that Tiberius had not yet taken on the principate (1.7.5 'tamquam adepto principatu') and that he was not certain whether he would do so (1.7.3 'ambiguus imperandi').[8] There was in effect a temporary power vacuum which Tiberius filled by default. It has to be remembered that the only alternative as Augustus' successor was his grandson, Agrippa Postumus, who was living in disgrace on an island and whom in any case Livia promptly arranged to have killed without Tiberius' knowledge (1.6.1–3).[9] The contrast between Tiberius' own uncertainty and the *faits accomplis* with which he was presented by his mother bears out, at the earliest possible moment, what contemporaries had recently been saying about his likely enslavement to her (1.4.5 'seruiendum feminae').

The days after Augustus' death were critical, as Velleius, who lived through them, makes plain (124.1); in particular, the senate needed to be summoned, but Tiberius, in summoning them, was careful to rely on the authority of the tribunician power which he had received from Augustus (1.7.3 'tribuniciae potestatis praescriptione . . . sub Augusto acceptae'): Tacitus' meticulous description not only reminds us of Tiberius' recently subordinate status ('sub Augusto') but also implies correctly

[7] There is little relevant to this Appendix in G. Marañon, *Tiberius the resentful Caesar/Tiberius: a study in resentment* (1956 [orig. 1939]).

[8] For the interpretation of 1.7–13 as a whole see *Tac. Rev.* 40–69. Martin thought it 'unlikely' that my interpretation 'will convince many readers' (201), but R. Seager has said that the interpretation 'seems essentially right and to mark a major advance in our understanding of both Tacitus and Tiberius', although he believes that *ambiguus imperandi* means 'hesitant about using his *imperium*' ('Tacitus, *Annals* 1.7.1–5', *CQ* 52 (2002) 627).

[9] For Livia's role in – and Tiberius' ignorance of – the death of Postumus see *Tac. Rev.* 23–39.

that this was the only formal power Tiberius possessed. At the first meeting of the senate Tiberius allowed no other business than the reading of Augustus' will and discussion of his funeral arrangements (1.8.1). According to Suetonius, the opening words of the will were as follows: 'Quoniam atrox fortuna Gaium et Lucium filios mihi eripuit, Tiberius Caesar mihi . . . heres esto' (*Tib.* 23). The effect upon the listening Tiberius can only be imagined.

At the second meeting of the senate (1.11.1–13.5) Tiberius began by referring to the magnitude of the empire and his own inferiority (1.11.1 'sua modestia'): only Augustus had had the mental capacity to deal single-handedly with so great a burden (1.11.1 'solam diui Augusti mentem tantae molis capacem'); having helped Augustus with his responsibilities for the past decade, Tiberius knew from personal experience how difficult was the task of ruling everything ('se in partem curarum ab illo uocatum experiendo didicisse quam arduum, quam subiectum fortunae, regendi cuncta onus'). The community, continued Tiberius, had many able men: they should not devolve everything on one man ('ad unum') when a plurality could share the tasks ('sociatis laboribus') and more easily carry out the responsibilities of government.

This speech, comments Tacitus (1.11.2), was impressive but defied belief: Tiberius, obscure at the best of times, on that occasion was striving to hide both what he felt and what he meant, and as a result his words were capable of more than one interpretation. Tiberius could have meant either that he was declining the principate altogether or that he was merely asking for assistants. The listening senators, terrified that he might mean the former, began to protest loudly, but their protestations were cut short when Tiberius ordered the recitation of Augustus' own statistics on the size of the empire (1.11.3–5). The clear purpose of this exercise was to illustrate, by unassailable evidence, the magnitude of the task confronting whoever became *princeps*, but this simply increased the senators' protestations (1.12.1). In response, and on the spur of the moment,

Tiberius said that, although he was unequal to the imperial burden as a whole, he would accept responsibility for whichever part the senate entrusted to him (by which it was at once confirmed that Tiberius' original intention had been to decline the principate altogether). When Asinius Gallus then asked which part he would like to be entrusted to him, Tiberius' evident displeasure obliged Gallus to explain that the purpose of his question, so far from trying to divide up an entity which could not be divided, had been to extract from Tiberius an acknowledgement that the commonwealth was a single body which required ruling by a single mind (1.12.3 'unum esse rei publicae corpus atque unius animo regendum').[10] In other words, it was desired that Tiberius be *princeps* on the same terms as Augustus (~1.11.1 'solam diui Augusti mentem').

When another distinguished consular, L. Arruntius, asked a similar question to that of Gallus, Tacitus takes the opportunity to suspend his narrative of the accession debate by interposing a substantial digression on the ambitions and capabilities of four leading politicians including Gallus and Arruntius (1.13.1–3); but afterwards he returns to the debate, which we as readers are intended to imagine as having continued in the background: the digression is a device – an ellipsis, in narratological terms – whose purpose is to give an impression of an almost interminable series of exchanges between senators and Tiberius. Finally, exhausted by the whole process, Tiberius gradually gave way; but at this point our sources diverge. According to Suetonius, he formally accepted the principate but in such a way as to leave himself an escape in due course (*Tib.* 24.2): 'recepit imperium, nec tamen aliter quam ut depositurum se quandoque spem faceret. ipsius uerba sunt: "Dum ueniam ad id tempus quo uobis aequum possit uideri dare uos aliquam senectuti meae requiem".' Tacitus, however, says explicitly that Tiberius refused to admit that he was accepting the imperial burden; he simply ceased to engage in further debate (1.13.5

[10] On Gallus' use of Ciceronian language see *PH* 167–8.

'non ut fateretur suscipi a se imperium sed ut negare et rogari desineret'). We hear no more about this matter in the *Annals*: as far as Tacitus is concerned, Tiberius from this point onwards performs the functions of *princeps* without ever having formally agreed to assume the role of being *princeps*. His position, in other words, had not changed since the days immediately after Augustus' death, when he performed the duties of a *princeps* without actually being *princeps* (1.7.5); and, although such behaviour naturally attracted the charge that he wished to exercise power while protesting otherwise, the reality was the converse of this: Tiberius allowed his personal dislike of sole power to be overridden by his sense of responsibility to the Roman empire and its people.

It is easy to imagine that Tiberius, having effectively acceded to the senate's wishes, consoled himself privately with the thought which had come to him in the middle of the accession debate but which had been overtaken by the interventions of Gallus and Arruntius, namely, that he could make things easier for himself if he shared the burden with others (1.12.1). Not only did he have a mother whose instincts and capabilities had just been demonstrated; he also had two sons, Germanicus and Drusus, whose potential could be tested and exploited. Much of the remaining narrative of AD 14 is in fact devoted to the activities of these two young men, as Drusus deals with the mutiny in Pannonia (1.16–30) and Germanicus with that in Germany (1.31–51).[11] Their role as his joint deputies is made clear at 1.46–7, where people contrast Tiberius' great experience with his sons' relative youth (1.46.1–2 'duorum adulescentium nondum adulta auctoritate . . . principem longa experientia') and where he defends their acting as his agents (1.47.2 'at per filios pariter adiri maiestate salua'). One can see in this episode the germ of the complaints made before Tiberius' accession, that regardless of his great experience (1.4.3

[11] On this see *PH* 296–321.

'rerum experientia') he would be enslaved to his two young sons (1.4.5 'duobus . . . adulescentibus').

Foreign events over the next few years meant that Drusus could take over from Germanicus in Germany to gain his fair share of *gloria* (2.26.4), while Germanicus could be sent to the troubled east: he had the wisdom to deal with the situation, explained Tiberius, whereas Drusus was still too young for such a responsibility (2.43.1 'nec posse motum Orientem nisi Germanici sapientia componi: nam . . . aetatem . . . Drusi nondum satis adoleuisse'). It was of course Germanicus' travels across the east which led to his early death in AD 19 (2.72.2), leaving Tiberius with only Livia and Drusus as his helpers. Two years later Tiberius partnered Drusus in the consulship, just as three years earlier he had partnered Germanicus (3.31.1); but at the start of the year the *princeps* departed for Campania, and he remained there until AD 22, when his mother's health brought him back to the city (3.64.1). Tacitus offers three reasons for the *princeps*' departure, none of them exclusive (3.31.2):

> eius anni principio Tiberius quasi firmandae ualetudini in Campaniam concessit, longam et continuam absentiam paulatim meditans, siue ut amoto patre Drusus munia consulatus solus impleret.

Writing as always with the benefit of hindsight, Tacitus not unnaturally sees a prefigurement of Tiberius' withdrawal to Campania five years later (4.57.1); but, whether or not the present sojourn in Campania was a trial run, Tiberius surely saw an advantage in allowing Drusus the opportunity to perform consular responsibilities by himself and to gain further administrative experience. It is in no way surprising that in the very next year Tiberius sought *tribunicia potestas* for Drusus. Tacitus, in explaining the significance of the power, notes that, although Tiberius had treated Drusus and Germanicus equally until the latter's death, he was now laying before the senate the achievements which qualified Drusus to be called 'laboris particeps' (3.56.2–4).

It is therefore in the highest degree ironic that at this very same time Tiberius was using an almost identical description, 'socius laborum', to refer to Sejanus (4.2.2). The effect on Drusus was unsurprising: he complained frequently that, despite there being a surviving son, a third party was being called Tiberius' 'helper in command', and it would not be long before he was called 'colleague' (4.7.1 'adiutorem imperii . . . collega'). Sejanus, aware of Drusus' complaints and afraid that he would seek revenge, therefore decided to eliminate Drusus. The latter's death meant that Germanicus' two eldest sons were orphaned again, since Drusus had taken them in after their father's death; Tiberius now presented them to the senate, marking the moment with a speech which would have impressed his audience, had the *princeps* not reverted to matters 'pointless and often ridiculed, about giving up the commonwealth, and that the consuls or someone else should take up its direction' (4.9.1 'ad uana et totiens inrisa reuolutus, de reddenda re publica utque consules seu quis alius regimen susciperent'). *uana et totiens inrisa* seems to be an allusion to the ill-fated accession debate: since Drusus' death had deprived him of the second of the filial helpers on whom he had been relying for most of the past decade, it is scarcely surprising that his thoughts should once again turn, evidently in some despair ('seu quis alius'), to withdrawal from political life. Nor is it surprising that it should be Drusus' death which brings the first phase of Tiberius' principate to an end (6.51.3 'donec Germanicus ac Drusus superfuere').

Tacitus contrives to make this moment coincide with the start of Book 4 and hence with the half-way point in the Tiberian hexad: the year 23 initiated 'the change for the worse in Tiberius' principate' (4.6.1 'Tiberio mutati in deterius principatus initium ille annus attulit'). The deterioration manifested itself in Tiberius' personal savagery, or at least in his providing others with the means of savaging (4.1.1 'saeuire ipse aut saeuientibus uires praebere'), a process which is expressly attributed to Sejanus (4.1.1 'initium et causa penes Aelium Seianum'),

whose rise and fall were alike destructive to the Roman state (4.1.2 'rem Romanam, cuius pari exitio uiguit ceciditque'). The emphasis on Sejanus has persuaded numerous scholars that here above all Tacitus' narrative conflicts with his analysis in the obituary, where there is no reference whatsoever to Sejanus in the phase of Tiberius' principate which follows Drusus' death.[12] But this is to misunderstand the obituary notice, whose analysis is complementary to the narrative. The obituary periodises the deterioration of Tiberius and his principate according to the loss of his successive helpers, until, in the final period, he experiences the isolation of power which he so dreaded in AD 14. It would have been quite out of place to mention the introduction of a new helper. After the death of Drusus, who had so recently been appointed as 'laboris particeps', Livia was the only one of Tiberius' three original helpers who remained, and it is her death which will bring to an end the second period of his principate.

When we are considering the role played by Sejanus in Tacitus' portrayal of Tiberius over the next eight years, it is obviously important not to be distracted by modern theories of 'what really happened' but to accept Tacitus' view that Sejanus was a sinister manipulator of the *princeps* and was plotting against him. We do not know when Sejanus first managed to insinuate himself with Tiberius, but the likelihood is that he had capitalised on Germanicus' death in 19 and had used the following years to make himself indispensable to the *princeps*. By AD 23 Tiberius was 'so complaisant and submissive that he celebrated him as his "partner in toil" not only in conversation but in front of the senators and people' (4.2.3 'facili Tiberio atque ita prono ut socium laborum non modo in sermonibus sed apud patres et populum celebraret'). This description

[12] Syme, like some other scholars, thinks that the very division of the hexad into two halves 'is at variance with the stages of decline and deterioration in the character of Tiberius, as enumerated in the epilogue' (*Tac.* 420); but this is self-evidently not the case.

captures perfectly the interrelationship between Tiberius' personal diffidence and his dependence on helpers, a combination which here seems to be presented almost in terms of προσκύνησις. It is no surprise that Dio will later say that Sejanus was almost regarded as the real emperor (58.4.1).

There were nevertheless still limits to the relationship between *princeps* and *socius*, and Sejanus' proposal that he marry Livi(ll)a was rejected by Tiberius in 25 (4.39–40). As an alternative, Sejanus started to urge Tiberius to leave Rome and spend the rest of his life in some attractive location where he could enjoy peace and solitude (4.41.3 'quietem et solitudinem'): such a withdrawal, of which Sejanus was perhaps put in mind by Tiberius' sojourn in Campania in 21, would leave Sejanus with a freer hand and in charge of communications with the emperor. When Tiberius duly withdraws to Campania in the following year, however, Tacitus marks the moment with a more complicated scenario (4.57.1–3):

> Inter quae diu meditato prolatoque saepius consilio tandem Caesar <proficiscitur> in Campaniam, specie dedicandi templa apud Capuam Ioui, apud Nolam Augusto, sed certus procul urbe degere. Causam abscessus quamquam secutus plurimos auctorum ad Seiani artes rettuli, quia tamen caede eius patrata sex postea annos pari secreto coniunxit, plerumque permoueor num ad ipsum referri uerius sit, saeuitiam ac libidinem, cum factis promeret, locis occultantem. Erant qui crederent in senectute corporis quoque habitum pudori fuisse (quippe illi praegracilis et incurua proceritas, nudus capillo uertex, ulcerosa facies ac plerumque medicaminibus interstincta); et Rhodi secreto uitare coetus, recondere uoluptates insuerat. Traditur etiam matris impotentia extrusum, quam dominationis sociam aspernabatur neque depellere poterat, cum dominationem ipsam donum eius accepisset.

Here Tacitus offers a variety of reasons for Tiberius' withdrawal. In particular he questions whether, since Tiberius continued his seclusion for six years after the death of Sejanus, hiding his savagery and lusts, the withdrawal should more

accurately be attributed to the man himself ('ad ipsum') rather than to the wiles of Sejanus. Since in the obituary it is the *absence* of Sejanus which marks the final phase of Tiberius' deterioration, the question is self-evidently pertinent; but, by the same token, the alternative reasons are not mutually exclusive. At the start of Book 4 Tacitus had said that Sejanus' rise and fall were alike destructive to the Roman state (4.1.2): his death ensured that Tiberius' *saeuitia* continued, since Sejanus' former associates constituted many of the victims, and that his *libidines* were no longer concealed (6.51.3).[13]

Tacitus' reference here to Livia is also telling. Tiberius' troublesome mother had now been 'socia dominationis' for twelve years, and the major role being played by Sejanus after Drusus' death no doubt meant that Tiberius felt he ought to be able to dispense with her services; but the fact is that he could not do so ('neque depellere poterat'), thus confirming the predictions of contemporaries in AD 14 that he would be enslaved to his mother (1.4.5).[14]

Since the withdrawal to Campania turned into permanent retirement to Capri (4.67.1–3), Tacitus could have shone yet another light on the *princeps*' decision. Augustus, although never abandoning his role as *princeps*, had evidently wished that he could have retired (Sen. *Brev. Vit.* 4.2–4):

[13] *locis occultantem* at 4.57.1 means that, ensconced on Capri, Tiberius could distance himself from the executions, which he was obliged to watch unobserved from a vantage point (6.39.2), and could keep his *libidines* out of the public gaze (as opposed to out of Sejanus' sight); there is no conflict with the obituary in either respect.

[14] The passage at 4.57.2 is the only occasion in *Annals* 1–6 on which there is arguably a direct contradiction between the obituary and the narrative. According to the obituary, the period before Tiberius' accession was 'egregium uita famaque' (6.51.3), whereas here Tacitus tells us that 'in the seclusion of Rhodes he had been accustomed to hide away his pleasures'. To escape this contradiction, one would presumably have to assume that the *uoluptates* of a middle-aged *priuatus* did not merit the censure of an elderly emperor's *libidines* on Capri. (There is no such contradiction at 1.4.4, where the accusations about Rhodes are in *oratio obliqua*.)

Diuus Augustus, cui dii plura quam ulli praestiterunt, non desiit quietem sibi precari et uacationem a re publica petere; omnis eius sermo ad hoc semper reuolutus est, ut speraret otium: hoc labores suos, etiam si falso, dulci tamen oblectabat solacio, aliquando se uicturum sibi. In quadam ad senatum missa epistula, cum requiem suam non uacuam fore dignitatis nec a priore gloria discrepantem pollicitus esset, haec uerba inueni: 'Sed ista fieri speciosius quam promitti possunt. Me tamen cupido temporis optatissimi mihi prouexit ut, quoniam rerum laetitia moratur adhuc, praeciperem aliquid uoluptatis ex uerborum dulcedine.' Tanta uisa est res otium ut illam, quia usu non poterat, cogitatione praesumeret. Qui omnia uidebat ex se uno pendentia, qui hominibus gentibusque fortunam dabat, illum diem laetissimus cogitabat quo magnitudinem suam exueret. Expertus erat quantum illa bona per omnis terras fulgentia sudoris exprimerent, quantum occultarum sollicitudinum tegerent.

The Divine Augustus, on whom the divinities bestowed more than on anyone, did not cease to beg relief for himself and to seek freedom from the commonwealth. His every conversation always came round to this, that he hoped for rest: he diverted his labours with this sweet, albeit false, comfort, that at some point he would live for himself. In a letter sent to the senate, after he had promised that his relief would not be free from dignity or inconsistent with his former glory, I found these words: 'But that such things can happen is more illusory than their promise. Nevertheless a desire for the time which I most crave has led me to derive some pleasure from the sweetness of the words, since delight in the actuality is still in abeyance.' Rest seemed so important that he anticipated it in thought because the reality was impossible. The man who saw that everything was dependent on him alone, in whose gift was the fate of men and nations, was happiest when thinking of the day when he could discard his greatness. He had experienced how much sweat was extracted from him by those gleaming benefits across every land, how much hidden anxiety they cloaked.

Tiberius was well known for his following of Augustan precedent: as one who had never formally accepted the role of *princeps*, he perhaps now felt entitled to the 'senectuti meae

requiem' which, according to Suetonius, he had hinted at in AD 14 (*Tib.* 24.2).

When Livia died early in 29, her death brought to an end the second phase of Tiberius' principate. Once again Tacitus contrives to make the moment coincide with the beginning of a book (5.1.1), duly noting that there was now a further stage in the *princeps*' deterioration. Hitherto Tiberius had demonstrated a chronic obedience towards his mother, as had been predicted in AD 14 (1.4.5) and confirmed as recently as 26 (4.57.3), while Sejanus for his part had not dared to pre-empt the authority of a parent; but, now that the two were released from her control, there came into effect a 'praerupta . . . et urgens dominatio' (5.3.1). Unfortunately the loss of most of Book 5 means that we cannot know how Tacitus described this *dominatio*, nor how he dealt with the exposure and execution of Sejanus; we know from the obituary that the death of Tiberius' final helper brought to an end the penultimate period of the principate: the *princeps* had to 'rely on himself' for the last period of his life (6.51.3 'suo tantum ingenio utebatur'), and the *dedecora* by which this last period was marked are duly paraded at the beginning of Book 6 (6.1.1–2).

Towards the end of Book 6 Tacitus returns, ring-fashion, to the change in Tiberius' principate with which he had introduced the second half of the hexad. L. Arruntius, who had intervened in the accession debate near the start of Book 1 (1.13.1), was falsely implicated by Macro in charges of conspiracy and adultery and, having decided to commit suicide, made a speech (6.48.2):

> an, cum Tiberius post tantam rerum experientiam ui dominationis conuulsus et mutatus sit, C. Caesarem uix finita pueritia, ignarum omnium aut pessimis innutritum, meliora capessiturum Macrone duce, qui ut deterior ad opprimendum Seianum delectus plura per scelera rem publicam conflictauisset?

Arruntius' words are worth careful analysis, since they are often thought to be 'not wholly in harmony' with the author's own

scheme.[15] Just as contemporaries in AD 14 had predicted that despite his great experience Tiberius would be too submissive to be *princeps*, so here Arruntius, looking back over the long reign, acknowledges that, despite the experience which Tiberius had brought to being *princeps*, he was the victim of his own position, 'battered by the reality of power' ('ui dominationis conuulsus'). No better could be expected of Caligula: in addition to his youthful ignorance he would be subservient to Macro ('Macrone duce'), whose comparison to Sejanus implicitly attributes to the latter the same dominant role in Tiberius' reign. Arruntius' diagnosis conforms perfectly with both the narrative and the obituary.

Sejanus was now long since dead, and in the letter condemning him to death Tiberius had described himself to the senate as 'an old man and alone' (Suet. *Tib.* 65.1 'senem et solum'). It is this description to which Tacitus' obituary notice builds up. The notice is divided into two halves, of which the first (6.51.1–2) concentrates on the years before AD 14 and sees Tiberius largely as the victim of circumstance ('casus'). Augustus' preferred successors are listed again, just as at the start of the *Annals* (1.3.1–3), except that they are now described as 'rivals' ('aemulis'), explicitly providing the context in which Tiberius' principate, on which the second half of the obituary concentrates, is to be viewed. The account of Tiberius' *mores* (6.51.3) follows him from his life under Augustus through the successive helpers of his principate to the final period after Sejanus' death. Twenty-three years earlier, before he had reconciled himself to his new position, Tiberius had said that, while Augustus had had the capacity to rule the empire singlehandedly (1.11.1 'solam diui Augusti mentem tantae molis capacem'), his own *modestia* meant that he himself did not ('non ad unum omnia deferrent'): it is therefore the bitterest of ironies that, despite his best efforts, Tiberius spent the last period of his life in the solitariness which he had dreaded at the start ('suo tantum ingenio utebatur').

[15] Syme, *Tac.* 422.

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